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'Tough Fight' Lies Ahead for Polish Communists

LD2008111489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Jiri Cebrovsky Commentary]

[Excerpt] Hardly anyone doubts that there is a complicated situation in Poland today. A government crisis culminated in Czeslaw Kiszczak tendering his resignation. Solidarity leader Walesa then announced on Friday [18 August] the names of three candidates for the post of prime minister of the Polish Government. All three of them are representatives of this trade union organization.

All sorts of things can be discovered in their biographies. Nevertheless, what is most essential is the fact that the future government will have a Solidarity representative as its prime minister. Such developments have pleased many of Solidarity's officials. As Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz said, it is the last nail in the coffin of the leading role of the Communist Party.

Did he want to say even more about this: That it is also the last nail in the coffin of socialism in Poland? Has the Polish United Workers' Party lost the fight for power? Has Solidarity already switched to changes in society, despite the fact that its leader, Lech Walesa, only in May insisted that in the next 4 years he does not want to disrupt the process of combatting the crisis in Polish society?

We will have the answers to many questions only later. Nevertheless, the fact is that a tough fight lies ahead of the Polish Communists, in the government, parliament, and in society. The steps of the opposition clearly aim at destroying the hitherto government coalition and isolating the Polish Communists.

Such an attitude could have serious consequences as far as political stability is concerned, because as political observers say, for example: Even the equilibrium of forces which has recently been created in the country can be impaired, not to mention the fact that today more is being said about a power struggle than about ways of tackling the large deficit and of putting the economy in order. Solidarity's ideas regarding Western financial aid to Poland are still only a matter of imagination. [passage omitted]

1968 Anniversary Noted; Peace, Stability Urged

Party Presidium on 1968 Events

LD1808165189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] At its session today the Presidium of the Central Committee Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] examined the social and political situation and an informative report on aktivs and meetings of party members, organizations of the National Front and national committees, which took place during the past few days. It appreciated the growing preparations for the 18th party congress, and the activity at the start of the period of the annual members' meetings and conferences of the party and in fulfilling national economic plans and carrying out tasks connected with social restructuring. It noted that the participants in the aktivs and meetings have been voicing full support for the CPCZ policy and have been expressing the resolve to carry out the program for restructuring and democratizing society set out by the party.

At the aktivs as well as in numerous letters from party organizations, working collectives, and individuals reaching the Party Central Committee concern has been expressed at attempts by antisocialist forces to destabilize our state and demanding energetic measures in the interest of order and calm to permit creative work for the benefit of the republic.

In connection with the forthcoming anniversary of 21 August 1968, various efforts and views are emerging in our country and abroad endeavoring, so to speak, to reappraise the events of that time. The Party Central Committee Presidium stressed that the period of social and political crisis in the period 1968-1969 and the events connected with that period had been examined and assessed in detail at the 14th Party Congress in 1971 using all available facts. Each period has to be assessed in its historical internal and external political context. Our country's perspectives are rightly linked with the creative activity of social restructuring and democratization. The Czechoslovak public at the same time follows with interest the changes taking place in individual socialist countries. It identifies itself with developments aimed at strengthening socialism and reinforcing mutual relations on the basis of the new quality of internationalism by applying the new political thinking in international relations.

The Party Central Committee Presidium at the same time voiced full support for this statement by the federal government and voiced the conviction that the appeal for calm and order will receive the support of all party members and other citizens.

The Presidium of the Party Central Committee acquainted itself with the standpoint adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on 15 August this year in connection with the anniversary of the Czechoslovak events of 1968. It noted that the standpoint did not show sufficient appreciation of the internal and external political contexts of the 1968 developments and that it objectively helps the forces which act against socialism and the processes of restructuring in Czechoslovakia. At the same time the Presidium stressed its interest in the active development of mutual cooperation between the people of our two countries and fraternal parties.

At its session today the Presidium also discussed preparations for the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising and considered the draft of the speech to be delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes at a festive demonstration which will be held in Banska Bystrica on 26 August.

It discussed a report on the development of the membership base of the CPCZ during the past year and in the period since the 17th Party Congress. The Presidium also noted that party bodies and organizations had paid attention to attaining greater effectiveness in party work, galvanizing all communists and strengthening the capacity to act. The stress had been put on the promotion of qualitative viewpoints in the selection, education, and accepting of new members and candidate members of the party, and on strengthening the class character of the party and developing its vanguard role in implementing the party line. Since the 17th congress the party had increased by more than 46,000 members and candidate members.

The Presidium stressed that at the present time it is necessary to devote the main attention to galvanizing the membership base and to the increased militancy of communists.

It also took note of the plan now being prepared by the government to create conditions for the transition to a single rate of exchange and convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna. It stressed that the effort aimed at the convertibility of the koruna was beginning in manufacturing through increased effectiveness, economy, and cost-effectiveness in all sectors.

The Party Central Commitee Presidium examined experiences in the application of the principles governing the awarding of state distinctions for political, public, economic, cultural, scientific, and other activity and endorsed an amendment. It took note of the adjustment of the system of prizes awarded for scientific, technological, artistic, journalistic, and other activity as well as a report on the securing of the process of renewal of the printing industry.

Urbanek on Anti-Socialist Forces

LD1908163189 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)—The process of restructuring leads to a broad activation of people but also active are individuals and groups which seek to abuse the efforts of the party and society at improving socialism for their own political goals, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and chairman of the committee for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic Karel Urbanek said today.

Addressing a peace rally at the national memorial at Plostina near Gottwaldov, south Moravia, Karel Urbanek said that people are not indifferent to the activation of anti-socialist forces, as seen from thousands of letters by work teams and individuals sent to the Communist Party Central Committee. He stressed that the question of political power was definitively decided in this country in February 1948, and added that he who wants to reverse this reality excludes himself from the social dialogue.

Czechoslovakia regards the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union as stimulating and inspiring. Experiences have shown that it is a very complicated process involving both positive changes and conflicts hindering it, Karel Urbanek said. He added that Czechoslovak working people wish the Soviet Union much strength and energy in work to achieve its goals, and regards the development in Poland and Hungary as very instructive.

Referring to the coming anniversary of internationalist assistance granted by five Warsaw Treaty countries to Czechoslovakia in 1968, Karel Urbanek said that both subversive centres abroad and anti-socialist forces at home step up their effort to use the occasion for attacks on the USSR and socialism.

In cooperation with foreign centres, anti-socialist forces at home organize disturbances in Prague and other cities, in an attempt to use the anniversary to destabilize society, he said, stressing that "we cannot remain indifferent to this, or pretend that it does not concern us." Genuine democracy is incompatible with destructive actions directed at achieving ambitious goals of individual persons and groups, Karel Urbanek added.

Opposition Members Reportedly Arrested

LD2008205389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] In Prague, several members of the opposition were arrested on the eve of the anniversary of the 1968 military intervention, according to several Western news agencies. Evelyn Forro reports on the events of the Czechoslovak capitol.

[Forro] There are masses of police, identity checks without demonstrations. This is how Sunday in Prague could be described 1 day before the anniversary of the military intervention of the five socialist countries. Since noon, cars have not been allowed into Wenceslas Square. According to the indications, the police were on alert. After 1400, identification checks started; mainly young people were stopped and those who had a camera with them. Film was taken from some of them, including Hungarians.

By 1700, many people had gathered at the bottom of the square; 10 to 15 television crews had also lined up expecting that the peaceful demonstration march would be repeated, but by 1930 even the most persistent had given up.

According to certain sources, the opposition plans only a peaceful commemoration for Monday afternoon. Others seem to know that the demonstration did not occur because several of the organizers were arrested. This fact was not confirmed officially in Prague.

DPA Reports Police Arrests

LD1908173889 Hamburg DPA in German 1710 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Police in Prague today took an unknown number of members of opposition groups in to "preventive custody." This was announced by civil rights circles tonight. It can be assumed that those arrested will be set free again after 21 August, the anniversary of the invasion by Warsaw Pact troops of the CSSR 21 years ago. Some civil rights campaigners, including the dramatist Vaclav Havel, have been forbidden to stay in Prague on that day.

In Prague itself, a group of young people marched in silence through the pedestrian precinct. The demonstrators were filmed by police. There was no other intervention by the law and order forces.

According to Hungarian information, a group of youngsters from the ranks of the Hungarian Democratic Forum will be attending protest functions expected to be held in Prague tomorrow. Polish parliamentary members also plan to attend the protest functions in Prague.

U.S., FRG Envoys Summoned to Foreign Ministry

LD1808165289 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 18 (CTK)—The counsellor of the U.S. Embassy here was summoned to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today and notified of the incompatibility of the activities of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America with the Helsinki process of cooperation in Europe.

Thomas N. Hull was told that Czechoslovakia significantly contributed to the elaboration of the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting and approaches its realization with responsibility. It is, inter alia, the results of the London Information Forum and the Paris Conference on Human Dimension which are evidence of a positive development in this sphere. However, there exist also negative phenomena, including the activities of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America which have so far not given up methods and the rhetoric of the Cold War period. It is above all Radio Free Europe which engages in inciting and organizing banned demonstrations in Czechoslovakia. This activity runs counter to the letter and spirit of the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

All signatory states without exception must contribute to a positive implementation of the Vienna document. Czechoslovakia wants to pursue this path and is doing so. "We expect by right that all other Helsinki Final Act signatories, including the USA, will proceed in the same constructive way."

Also summoned to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry was Counsellor of the West German Ministry Michael M. Steiner to whom Czechoslovakia's interest in promoting the European process of security and cooperation was conveyed.

He was told that Radio Free Europe, based on the territory of the FRG, is engaged in activities which are not in harmony with the Helsinki Final Act and with the documents of the Vienna follow-up meeting. This radio station is in particular active in organizing actions that run counter to Czechoslovakia's laws. Czechoslovakia rightly asks why does the Federal Republic of Germany tolerate such activities on its territory?

Czechoslovakia is convinced that this notice to the FRG will be considered in the spirit of the present correct relations between the two countries with the aim to continue promoting bilaterally beneficial cooperation.

Foreign Minister Receives USSR Ambassador

LD1808210689 Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 18 (CTK)—Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin was received here today by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes.

They discussed some questions of mutual relations and the present international situation.

Reduction of Border Zone's Area Announced

LD1808210589 Prague CTK in English 1615 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 18 (CTK)—Press spokesman of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry Major Jiri Belohlavek has informed CTK of the newly arranged border zone of Czechoslovakia.

The broder zone was narrowed by approximately 14,500 hectares of farm land and woodland after negotiations of bodies of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry with party, state and economic bodies and organizations of places concerned.

The fact that a border zone is a certain "regulator" of the movement of people and limits undesirable devastation of nature was taken into consideration in the narrowing of several areas of Central Sumava and wet forests in South Moravia.

The exemption of roads and communications of local importance from the border zone will improve the passage of vehicles, extend the possiblities of parking, tourism, the gathering of forest fruit, fishing, etc.

The press spokesman pointed out that the regime in the present broder zone must be fully respected. It can be entered only by people having valid permits.

Mueller Visits Site of Border 'Provocation'

LD1908181989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—At the personal request of Erich Honecker, Gerhard Mueller, candidate of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk Executive, and Council Chairman Artur Swatek on Saturday afternoon visited the inhabitants of Wahlhausen who were affected by the outrageous border provocation. On behalf of the SED general secretary and council of state chairman, Gerhard Mueller assured the families that everything was being done to repair immediately the material damage caused to their houses. They were still suffering from shock, said the Feige and Jost families whose living room ceiling and doors show bullet holes. It was one of the worst provocations at the border with the FRG since the end of the war, Egbert Jost said. At other times the FRG border protection force was always in evidence, but last night it obviously failed in its duty, otherwise the perpetrators could not have approached the Werra by car, shooting for over an hour at frontier installations, residential buildings and the church.

Gerhard Mueller concurred with the inhabitants and stressed that the GDR sought calm and peace on this border. Together with the inhabitants, he was hoping that such an occurrence would not be repeated. However, in view of the prevailing anticommunism and the revival of neo-Nazism in the FRG, one could not be certain of that.

Krolikowski, FRG's Seiters on Asylum Seekers

Krolikowski Reaffirms Stance

LD1808172489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister of the GDR, met for a talk today with Rudolf Seiters, federal minister for special tasks and head of the FRG Federal Chancellery, at the latter's request in the Foreign Ministry.

Questions in connection with the stay of GDR citizens in FRG missions abroad were discussed. Herbert Krolikowski affirmed the GDR stance to the effect that issues of the permanent emigration of GDR citizens are clearly laid down in the GDR legal regulations. It was stressed to Federal Minister Rudolf Seiters that decisions in this sphere come exclusively within the sovereign competency of the GDR Government. Therefore the GDR rejects all attempts to enforce emigration from the GDR through the stay in FRG missions, since the GDR's legal regulations are binding on all citizens equally. The FRG was asked to ensure that the GDR citizens presently in FRG missions leave them and return to their home cities. As already repeatedly stated, there will be no legal repercussions for them.

Herbert Krolikowski emphasized to Rudolf Seiters that according to the standards of international law the FRG has no "custodial duty" for GDR citizens, and that any such attempts must be rejected as interference in the GDR's internal affairs.

With reference to the joint communiqe on the visit to the FRG in September 1987 by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, State Secretary Herbert Krolikowski stressed the GDR's unchanging willingness for developing normal and businesslike relations between the two states on the basis of equality in the interest of safeguarding peace and continuing the detente process.

Seiters Presents Stand

LD1808171589 Hamburg DPA in German 1626 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR is still not prepared to guarantee more than freedom from punishment to those citizens seeking to emigrate who are staying in the Bonn missions in East Berlin and other Eastern European countries. Rudolf Seiters, head of the Federal Chancellory, said this today after talks lasting nearly 2 hours with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Herbert Krolikowski in East Berlin.

He had made it clear that the Federal Government was interested in the development of intra-German relations and that "with the continuation of the present situation for the unforeseeable future—and we will have to prepare ourselves for that happening—potentially intra-German relations and their development" would be put under "a great degree of strain." "Far-reaching political and human problems" had arisen in the GDR and also had to be solved there, Seiters said. However, the Federal Government remained ready to talk. Seiters did not wish to give any details on the contents of the talks.

Seiters stated that a date for renewed talks had not been concretely agreed upon. "It is up to the GDR to create the prerequisites to ease the situation," he said. His visit to East Berlin was one of the varied contacts that the Federal Republic was making in the interests of those affected, "but also in the interests of developing intra-German relations." In the future there would also be contacts on "the most varied levels."

After the talks, which he described as long and intensive, Seiters drove to Bonn's permanent representation in East Berlin in order to speak to the 116 people there who wish to emigrate. He considered it would be "absolutely inappropriate if I were to be here and not conduct talks with those who are in the representation." He wanted to get information but also to give information, he said. Immediately after the discussion with the GDR deputy

foreign minister, he intended to telephone Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and inform him about the talks. They had spoken about "the whole spectrum" but also about the situation of those asylum-seekers in Budapest and Prague.

Seiters, who was accompanied by the head of the Planning Staff for German Policy in the Chancellery, Claus-Juergen Duisberg, and the head of the representation, Franz Bertele, intended to fly back to Bonn this evening.

Pastor on Problem of Citizens Leaving Country

LD2008213189 Hamburg DPA in German 0750 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The number of GDR citizens who have left the country and asylum-seekers in the Federal German diplomatic missions in Eastern Europe indicate, according to East Berlin Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, that social and economic development in the GDR will have to be hurried along still more. He is very sad about the fact that so many people who are willing to work, often very committed people, are leaving, Eppelman said in an interview with the "BERLINER MORGENPOST." It is precisely in these next few years that the GDR urgently needs citizens who wish to take responsibility.

His impression is that there is a kind of "blood-letting" [Aderlass] which is threatening the GDR with breakdown. Apparently no one "at the top level in the GDR" can see this. There, the number of those who wish to leave is assumed to be less than it is. Apparently they imagine that there are in the GDR only people who have come to terms with how things are run there. This is a mistake. The basic problem of GDR society is that adults are still treated like children in many matters. Therefore, for example, media policy must be completely changed. If one looks at GDR television or at the newspapers the impression is that they are reporting on a state that is on the moon. "This is not the GDR that the citizen experiences everyday."

If the citizens could discern a bit of movement then possibly this would also lead to a different basic position for many GDR citizens, Eppelmann said. "My impression is that for a considerable portion of the population only their bodies are still here but their hearts, their desires, and their wishes are outside the GDR—they have flung them over the wall." [Hamburg DPA in German at 1534 GMT on 20 August reports that "more than 40 GDR citizens succeeded in escaping across the Hungarian-Austrian border Sunday. This was confirmed by a police spokesman in Burgenland. The refugees had arrived on Austrian territory in various places".]

Undercover Officials Pose as 'Escape Helpers'

AU2108105289 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 21 Aug 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "In Hungary, GDR Undercover Officials Offer Services as 'Escape Helpers'"]

[Text] "The man was sneaking around in front of the FRG Consulate in Budapest, talked to our children, and was trying to ask them questions." Bernd Krause, one of the GDR citizens who escaped to Austria on Saturday afternoon [19 August], told DER STANDARD several hours before he crossed the border how GDR State Security men in Hungary are trying to offer would-be emigres their services as "escape helpers," and "dupe" them.

"At first he approached us in quite a friendly manner, took a photo, and said that he was on vacation with his Trabant car. However, we saw him later getting into a red and black Lada with a Berlin license plate." Krause is absolutely sure that this man was a GDR agent.

He added that when an acquaintance had accepted the help offered, they were convinced that the State Security Service was laying traps: "We had agreed that she would call us in our hotel as soon as she was in Austria. When she called, I realized that something was wrong because she sounded somewhat depressed. When I said that she should give me her husband on the phone, she answered that this was not possible at the moment. Somebody was standing beside her; you just felt it."

Krause's story was confirmed by another refugee in Austria on Saturday evening. He said that in Budapest's "Zugliet" church, where many GDR citizens are temporarily being taken care of, "characters" appeared time and again who were recognized as Stasi [State Security Service] men.

Leadership Speeches Mark St. Stephen's Day

Horn Comments Party Reform Future

LD1908123789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 89

["Excerpts" from speech by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn at celebrations to mark St. Stephen's Day in Oroshaza 19 August—recorded]

[Text] The Hungarian nation was able to advance and ascend when it trod its own path and when it built its policy on its national endowments; there was decline when it tried to mechanically ape or copy others. This is our standpoint, and it is formulated in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's [MSZMP] political program that the Stalinist model of the state is contrary to the interests of the state's citizens, it does not ensure socio-economic development, and not only must this be transcended, but it must be rejected.

At the same time, taking our current situation as our point of departure, it is necessary to emphasize that while creating new laws, we must ensure the organized functioning of society, and for this, public order and public security are necessary. We cannot allow criminals or any forces against society to endanger the life of the individual, family, or society.

The question justly arises: who, what political force, is able to overcome the crisis, and whom should the people believe? It is difficult to ask for faith and trust in the MSZMP, since the MSZMP is burdened by very many mistakes. I could even say crimes, in certain spheres. It is difficult to believe in government, since the government is only just able to handle the current crisis, and from day to day it pursues a Sisyphean struggle to create the conditions for a solution.

There also exist other political forces in this country, which is very good, but in my conviction, even these political forces have not been able to demonstrate, over the past months, what they wish or are able to do to improve the country's situation.

It is necessary to free ourselves from those who are unable to support this process of renewal, even by they, themselves, leaving the party, and creating a political party or movement which better expresses their own conception and endeavors. However, the party cannot continue in this manner, by struggling constantly with antireformist forces within its own ranks.

We have drafted a political program which could also be a selecting mechanism for everyone within the party, and could decide whether or not he is able, on the basis of the political program, to accept the party's endeavors and objectives. I would also like to emphasize that in our current process, our current situation, there is great need for a political culture to come into existence in this country. This country also needs esteem to handle the path leading out of the crisis and to continue the reform policy. This esteem should be such that it comes about on the basis of results.

A small, open country cannot really develop by orientating itself in solely one direction. We need developed relations with productive countries, while we also have to rearrange and strengthen our relationship and system of relations with the socialist countries.

The Hungarian Government undertakes disputes, even perhaps conflicts, if they arise in connection with issues such as preserving our freedom of action. We do not allow anyone to divert us from the path we have chosen. Nor can we allow doubt to be cast on the right to assert our national endowments. We also undertake—if necessary, at the cost of conflicts and disputes—that we will do what is possible in the interests of improving the situation of the Magyars who live beyond our borders.

However, any other arousing of tension is senseless and causes the country damage. In the situation that has developed, in the arousing of unnecessary disputes and tensions in recent months, the press and certain representatives of mass communications have had increasing responsibility.

We are (?in this) with the Romanian people, and we want to have a good relations with them, because the Romanian people are not hostile toward us and do not incite hatred. It is the mistaken policy with which we have problems and difficulties. It is a policy that is against people, and that incites hatred between the various peoples and nations.

Nemeth on Current Developments

LD2008174689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0837 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Speech by Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers Miklos Nemeth to a St Stephen's Day rally in Cegled—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed compatriots, esteemed citizens of Cegled. It is an honor for me to be among you. [passage omitted]

We have radically broken with the revolutionary demagoguery which undervalues the role of the churches in the creation of communities, which fails to see the churches organizations which teach understanding, love, and respect for others. The government has reorganized the state's institutions dealing with the churches on the basis of the conviction that the freedom of conscience is a part of citizens' freedoms. [passage omitted]

I cannot avoid speaking about some of the actual problems of our present historic days on this festive holiday. The events at the end of the week poured a little vinegar

into our festive glass. Should we drink it to the full, as if nothing had happened? I would rather throw it to the ground, because I want to pour clear water into the glass.

My government stated most sincerely to the people, in light of its best knowledge, that we are faced with an enormous unpaid bill. We also made it quite clear that we cannot expect someone to tear up this bill as a gracious gesture because they feel sorry for us. In any case, it is not pity that we want but cooperation. It is this request and offer that we present to the outside world. They understand this but do not leave us in any doubt that their cooperation depends on our putting our internal matters in order and on our paying our bills. We have undertaken to do this and have not made a secret at home of the considerable burdens which this entails.

We have begun to put our house in order. This is something that our partners appreciate. Our endeavors receive credit; our government is regarded as a trustworthy partner. Thus, the government has created this condition, which is far from easy to attain. But we must be careful: This will be immediately withdrawn if we cannot create the domestic conditions for a peaceful transition. [passage omitted]

I understand the point of view of the trade unions too, but at the same time I regard their attitude as dangerous. I understand, for decades they participated in all the party and government decisions. They were a party, or wanted to be a part, of the establishment and they acted as a brake on the necessary transformation. Their weapon was social demagoguery; and to some extent it still is. Despite this, they lost the confidence of some of the people and now at last they want to do something. If you like, they are fighting for their existence. Not for the existence of the trade unions—this is beyond dispute—but to maintain the outdated, bureaucratic organizational structure.

They do this by calling strikes. However, in calling strikes they do not promote the solution of the economic problems, and consequently they do not serve the interests of the workers. The majority of the workers realized this and this realization manifests itself in their conduct. They do not just protest but act to bring about changes.

I regard it as perfectly just and understandable if the workers want to determine by themselves who should represent or even defend their interests, and how. To be frank, I am not at all surprised that they are dissatisfied with the present protection of their interests. Of course, this does not change the fact that the workers are in any case embittered and, let me add, impatient.

This is natural. After all, now almost everyone castigates with a sacred passion the faults, mistakes and historic failures of the past decades. The consequences are terrible, they say. If that is so, why do they demand that the present government create problem-free conditions now, immediately, today? Who insinuates to the people that the government, engaged in the titanic tasks of clearing away the rubble, is doing nothing? Is it possible that perhaps they regard what the government is doing not as too little but as too much? Perhaps because they feel better with the unchanging ruins than in the freshly painted home of Magyardom, full of life, and in the middle of the garden of Europe?

I will not make a secret of it: I also am frequently embittered and impatient. But let me ask: To whom should I protest? To whom should I go to protest and present demands because of the consequences of World War II, the still-extant effects of the soul- and man-destroying decades of Stalinism, the division of Europe, the cold war, the embargo, the destructive effects of isolation, the tough countermeasures received because of the openly-professed intention to export the revolution? And these are only a few of the factors.

It is a fact that until recently we lived on the battleground of hostile world systems. This struggle was fought with various weapons—with ideological, political and economic weapons, and at times and even if outside Europe, also with real weapons. However, the battleground was always on our side. Hopefully the sides have finally recognized that neither can achieve a final victory. By now it is the slogans of coexistence and cooperation that can be read on the banners of both sides. This is a good thing and we would not like to see anything else on those banners.

However, our camp received extremely serious wounds in the struggle waged over several decades. We are suffering from all the damning consequences of being closed-in and isolated. The productive capacity of our once-promising economy has deteriorated and has fallen terribly behind in the competition. As a consequence of the lack of democracy—the dictatorial central direction—our political systems have fallen into a crisis and are crying out for renewal.

And unfortunately, our moral bearing has also suffered, since it has become clear that the goal for which our predecessors went into battle, wanting to bring a worldwide victory, was nothing but the Stalinist dictatorship dressed up in the colors of socialism, from which the people whose salvation it was supposed to bring have suffered and are rejecting.

Is it our fault that we live where armies march? Is it our fault if we get trampled over in the battle between world systems? [passage omitted] Let us not blame the reform communists for the faults of the model which they are working to radically transform. But we are mercilessly calling to account all those who are trying to gain power in the name of the people or who want to preserve power in this way. We ask: Is it really the service of the people which motivates them? Because those who are truly led by this motivation do not want to divide the nation, do not want to separate it into guilty and innocent, into those responsible and those who knew nothing and who

suffered. They have to formulate the questions affecting the nations fate and must seek a solution to them, together with all those who are ready and willing to do so.

Thus, I welcome the appeal which was published recently by eight intellectuals in MAGYAR NEMZET. I beleive that the questions put in a quiet, decent way will be heard even amid the ever-strengthening political battle by all those who must together find the answers.

The work of Saint Stephen provides an example that in the service of progress the camp of backward-pulling forces must be mercilessly defeated. He provides an example that the Hungarian people can only overcome their crisis situation if they expel from their life—in a civilized fashion but without concessions—those who brought about the crisis, but only those.

We have faith in the forces that wish to form the new Hungary. But we are shocked when some people say that they cannot have faith in us. On what basis can they question the decency of the intentions of the generations which now appear on the scene, the honesty of its faith? Whom do they identify us with? Let them take note: We can be identified only with ourselves, our own deeds, and it is only these that can qualify us. [passage omitted]

One of the missions of my generation—and this is something which I regard as my moral duty—is to give moral and political redress to those who were unlawfully persecuted in this country. The government cannot undertake full financial compensation, it cannot burden those alive today and their children. The rehabilitation has begun. We are trying to achieve precise, careful, and unemotional judgements; and afterward the nation can evaluate what we have done.

Esteemed festive audience: The government is determined that it will not provide scope for any passions for religious warfare. Religious wars always involve killings. I am stressing this because in recent times I have seen worrying signs which could endanger a peaceful and organized transition. The worst Hungarian political tradition—discord, the search for scapegoats, and hatred—has become more open and come to the fore. I am concerned because if this gains strength, there will once again be a fratricide in Hungary, whose end is easy to predict.

Many people do not realize that the old lies cannot be replaced with new lies and that we cannot fight against the old mistakes with new mistakes. [passage omitted]

I often hear that the problem is that it is not possible to differentiate clearly between the efforts of the reform communists, the government, and of the opposition organizations. There are those who explain this by saying that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the government are in eternal retreat, adopting the slogans of the opposition and professing them as their own. I think that it would be a petty thing to compete in such a way. It would be cheap and useless. But it is far from useless to say this here: The reform forces of the MSZMP and the government are not in retreat but are advancing, if not always in an unbroken line, in a conscious struggle. During the past decades there were nameless victims from their ranks as well.

These reform forces regard it not as a tactical concession but as their strategic goal to achieve real democracy, a state resting on a constitutional order, a market economy, respect for private property, the provision of incentives for private enterprise, freedom of religion and conscience, the autonomy of the churches, genuine self-government for settlements, and respect for traditional moral values.

We are not sorry that in our march toward these goals we are not alone, that other social and political organizations also regard these goals as their own. We are not appropriating these goals and we do not believe that we alone can determine the road leading to them. We want to do this together with all the forces which want to serve the interests of the nation. [passage omitted]

There is an unquenchable desire for freedom in our people, something that perhaps we brought with us from the steppes. This is what we are like. Without this, in all probability we would no longer be here. But this has often created fear and opposition among the peoples of Europe. The reckless outbursts of our desire for freedom have more than once evoked coordinated counteractions by several European powers. Vastly superior force has always defeated us and then an alien power settled over the Hungarian people. Consequently we must endeavor to gain an independence which is underpinned by relations of alliance in our immediate environment of the Carpathian basin, in Europe, and in the world alike.

Fulfilling a historical mission, we build bridges between eastern and western parts of Europe. Nothing can us from carrying out this work. We are working stently and hard. The people and their government need external peace. [passage indistinct]

Today all the great powers are interested in Hungary being a stable country, and none of them regard stability as meaning no change. The United States and the Soviet Union are also interested in the success of our reforms, and in the latter there is also a struggle being waged to realize radical reforms. The success of this struggle is far from a matter of indifference to us; what is more, it is vitally important to us. First and foremost not because of what is often raised in expressions of concern—namely if the reform there were to come to a halt, would our reform also be forced to a halt. Rather, it is because the world has transcended the conditions of 1956 and 1968.

For us, a Soviet Union which is stable and developing, which feels secure and which is sure of itself, can provide tremendous possibilities in the sphere of cooperation.

We need partners in cooperation, and we want to regard as such the neighboring and distant socialist countries. This is so even if not all of them are following the same path as we Hungarians.

Of course, the differences regarding the path followed create—or, more precisely, bring to the surface—far more problems than one could see and experience at the time when we all marched in unison to the same command. But we must realize that if as individual countries we want to belong to the community of world nations, we cannot have different norms between ourselves and in our relations with the other countries of the world. There are and will continue to be conflicts of interest between us; there are and there will be debates and conflicts between us. Let us regard it as natural that everyone wants to solve these in line with their own interests. But we must be aware that we cannot solve any of these problems if we disregard the interests of the other side, its thinking and its particular internal conditions. Every people living along the Danube has suffered for this historical lesson, and we have good cause to avoid a repetition.

The precondition for progress is peaceful cooperation with other people. Saint Stephen linked Hungary to the community of Christian culture, the community of what were then the progressive peoples. As for who arrived first in the Carpathian basin and in what order, the research into this and the verdict is something for the historians. My opinion is that politics should not cloak its message in historical garb. The position of our government is clear: It is the human right of every people to say which nationality it wants to belong to, and it is the human right of every people to organize its life in accordance with its national feelings, that it should be able to use its mother tongue in private life and in official transactions alike, that it should be able to educate its children in line with the traditions of its national culture. This is what we regard as the path to be followed by everyone in the Carpathian basin, and this includes all the peoples living in Transylvania.

It is with a sense of responsibility that the government wishes to deal with the minorities living within the borders of Hungary and it applies the same standards in connection with the Hungarian national minorities beyond our frontiers.

The states and government of Eastern and central Europe will receive heavy condemnation from the judgement of history if they use their administrative strength to repress national sentiments and endeavours. Unfortunately, the situation today is especially bad in the region from this point of view; it might be worse now than it was in the days of Saint Stephen.

I am not now thinking of the wrongs suffered by the Hungarians alone. I also have in mind that to this day the small peoples of the region have not succeeded in evolving a system of political institutions which could guarantee independent national and social progress. The plans, the dreams of a federative state, a united and democratic central Europe, were broken on the reefs of great power endeavors and were not realized because of the national antagonisms in the region. Yet, from Lajos Kossuth to the Romanian Petru Groza, many politicians have realized that the peoples of this region have no interests that oppose each other; what is more, they depend on each other.

Unfortunately, the political regimes that came into being after 1949 did not bring progress in this sphere either. What is more, they brought about national isolationism, artificial national antagonisms in the spheres of commerce and culture alike. Further, with reference to the interests of the socialist community, at times even military actions took place.

That is why I find it particularly important that the Hungarian Government condemns the participation in the 1968 military invasion of Czechoslovakia. Our government not only condemns this but by initiating the reform of the Warsaw Pact, it also wishes to receive institutional guarantees that such an action cannot be repeated. We are doing this because we are thinking not only of 1968, but also our tragedy in October 1956. It is important that now, in 1989, we create conditions so that neither now nor in the coming years can any external military intervention be possible in the internal affairs of the individual countries.

It is also important to elucidate and bring about the legislative conditions for ensuring that neither the parties nor the president of the Republic to be, nor the government, have scope for making decisions without the knowledge and agreement of the National Assembly to send the Hungarian Army beyond our frontiers. I am convinced that by condemning the 1968 military intervention we can remove the barrier that is in the way of the Hungarian, the Czech, and the Slovak people coming closer to each other. We are doing this because we regard the improvement of Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations as a national interest of fundamental importance.

We are also ready to improve Hungarian-Romanian relations. For this, however, it is first and foremost necessary for the Romanian leadership to stop trying to morally and politically rehabilitate the Hungarians. I need not tell you that we do not permit anyone to lecture us. We have had enough of this forever.

Esteemed festive audience, esteemed compatriots: The Hungarian people have now received from history a special opportunity to reverse their bad fate. This requires the creation of broad political unity. I am ready for this; and here, even under the statue of Lajos Kossath, let me quote from a parliamentary speech given by Ferenc Deak in the spring of 1848: Even those who are not friends of transformation, we must try to turn into its friends. Only by joining hands can we achieve our goal.

and if we quarrel among ourselves there will be no need for external enemies, the country will annihilate itself. I think these words speak for themselves.

Saint Stephen carried out a change of model a thousand years ago. With that, he lifted us from the sea of eastern nomadic peoples, who became submerged in the course of history. Once again, this is the only thing that can give us a change. Our endowments are unique. There has been a historical melting pot at work in the Carpathian basin for a thousand years. In the course of history, there has developed along the margin of Europe and Asia, where the Latin, German and Slav cultures meet, a people that can absorb and influence the value-systems of the West, but who also preserved its distant ancient Asian roots—the Hungarians.

We are now once again facing a change of model, a new conquest of the homeland, with which we have to find ourselves a place in the world in the third millenium. Turning to the faithful Hungarians of Saint Stephen, I ask, thoughtfully but with faith in the people: Will we be able to carry out this task? Thus, I ask for your help for the government and, let me add, for myself, so that we will be able to overcome the task together. If we tackle it together, then we have a chance. If some people now use the tactics of waiting until the government becomes exhausted, they are not helping. If they want to force the government into making irresponsible promises, then the result of their activities cannot be in doubt. We can have a table of any shape, only there will be no bread on it. Yet, people do not live by words alone. [passage omitted]

I believe that the Hungarian people have a mission in Europe and in the world. I believe that only by accepting this mission can we be made strong. I believe that together we can even achieve miracles. I believe in the creative force of the people—in your creative force, and in your patriotism. In having faith in you, I have faith in the future of the Hungarian nation. Have faith with me. Let us have faith in each other and let us act together. [appaluse]

Szuros on Dismantling Iron Curtain

LD2008123789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] During the 20 August celebrations the National Assembly President Matyas Szuros made a speech in Opusztaszer. He said the following:

[Begin Szuros recording] The nation needs to be given guarantees that the times that afflict body and soul will never return. The clarification of our past with the preservation and enrichment of values also dispels the political and spiritual cramps of our present. Just for this reason, in the spirit of national reconciliation, the National Assembly could initiate at its next session in September or October that the new constitution should declare 23 October a day of national remembrance. [applause]

The country, the interests of the nation must rise above the framework of the [word indistinct] discord and also above individual grievances. We want a world in which the peoples can take charge of their own fate, in which they can choose independently the path of their development, and in which in the future foreign tanks cannot rumble in, I quote, on the pretext of internationalist aid. [applause]

We are striving to pull down the Iron Curtain as soon as possible, which symbolizes the division of Europe, the symbolic and actual walls, the border seals which divide peoples, so that in the interests and spirit of peace and security, peoples of different languages, nations, and nationalities, can find each other. [end recording]

Nyers Calls For Independent Policy

LD2008183189 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—"Our chances are good for making a favourable turn in the fate of the country and the people and help Hungary find its political, economic and cultural positions in the group of European nations," Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], said at the Miskolc political rally on Sunday [20 August]. "We should pursue an independent domestic and foreign policy, as the only way we can take an active part in building the common European house. Our Europe extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals. We should build a political and economic bridge in this region, with one possible pier in Brussels and the other in Moscow.

"In the common European house, Hungary may play a major role. It is our special task to set up a smaller community within this house in cooperation with the neighbouring peoples and paying maximum attention to national autonomy, and the common fate of Eastern and central European countries. For this, we need a strong economy which is the precondition of political security. Therefore, when we speak and think of a political renewal we should always add that it is based on economic renewal. These two fields are in close correlation. In order to earn international recognition, we should set up a functioning democratic constitutional state in Hungary."

Pozsgay on State of Country

LD2008052689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Festivities for 20 August have already commenced today in several parts of the country. In Debrecen, Imre Pozsgay was the speaker.

[Unidentified reporter] In his speech today, Imre Pozsgay examined the traditions of the holiday, the state of the country and the unparalleled undertaking of our country. As he said, this people has suffered many kinds of troubles, conflict, and opposition, yet it has proven that its spine is not broken; it survived the crises. The inheritance of St Stephen offers a parallel which is not at all forced, namely that we are starting a new Europeanness, a new statehood. However, creating this, he said, in the daily unstable political struggles, which bring renewal, will be the work not of new or old parties, but the society to today's citizens.

Speaking about the country's geopolitical situation, about 1968, he said that there is no country in our surroundings which could teach us a lesson, but neither can we do this. In this corner of the world, there are only those who share the same fate.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Presidium member, speaking about his party, declared that it does not have an inherent right to exercise power; it must struggle for this. It will only have a chance if, in the spirit of European socialist values, as a renewed movement, it appears as a new movement with a new program, said Imre Pozsgay in his speech today in Debrecen.

New Officers Swearing-in Ceremony, New Oath

Oath Omits Reference to Party Loyalty

LD1908121989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Tomorrow, new military officers will take their oaths with a different text. In Kossuth Lajos Square, Colonel Istvan Szekeres, department head in the Ministry of Defense, speaks to Aniko Sandor about the reasons for the alterations.

[Begin recording] [Sandor] On the table in front of us are the texts of the two oaths—the old one and the new one.

[Szekeres] In part, we endeavored to draw up a more rational text, with less pathos, fewer adjectives. We thought there were too many expressions of political-ideological content.

[Sandor] What words, references have been omitted?

[Szekeres] Socialism; reference to the Party; reference to the socialist countries occur more rarely in the new text. We do not refer to the inconquerable ideals of socialism, since this does not belong to the text of any pledge. We do not refer to loyalty to the Party, because in a country which is devoting growing attention to constitutional statehood with a multiparty system, my view is that a people's army cannot make a distinction regarding its relationship to any one party. [end recording]

Officers Take New Oath

LD2008160189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0625 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Oath read by Lieutenant Tibor Szilagyi on behalf of his fellow officers at the officers' swearing-in ceremony in Kossuth Square, Budapest; live]

[Text] I, Lt Tibor Szilagyi, swear to serve my homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic, in a manner worthy of a member of the professional staff of the Armed Forces, in line with my solemn oath. I shall always be faithful to our people and our Constitution. I swear that in peace and war alike I shall use my skills and my authority in the service of the defense of our beloved country. I shall observe the laws and the lawful orders and shall have them observed. I shall educate my subordinates to the defense of our homeland, courage, and a willingness to make sacrifices and shall look after them humanely and responsibly. I shall handle the military technical means and property entrusted to my care to the best of my ability and shall look after them. I swear with sacred conviction and firm determination that I shall fulfil my military tasks in a manner worthy of our glorious freedom-figher predecessors. I shall live always in an exemplary and honorable, way, worthy of my rank as an officer.

Defense Minister Karpati Speaks

LD2008144889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0642 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Speech by Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati at the swearing-in ceremony for officers in Kossuth Square, Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed guests, my dear young officer friends: At the official swearing-in of the young officers of the Hungarian Peoples Army and the Border Guards I respectfully greet Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, members here present of the government and the National Assembly, and representatives of the political and social organs. I greet with warm affection the dear parents and relatives of our young officers. I greet our foreign guests who are honoring our ceremony with their presence; members of the diplomatic corps, military and air attaches, representatives of the Joint Armed Forces. I greet all the dear guests present at our ceremony.

My dear young officer friends, I greet you with respect on the occasion of your ceremonial oath-taking, this extremely important point in your life. I sincerely congratulate you on the fact that following the successful conclusion of your studies you were able to don the cermonial uniform of our Armed Forces and thus join the ranks of our professional officers. I sincerely wish you much success in your lives in this, your chosen career. May you live true to your oath and never forget that by your every action, you must serve the peace and security of our homeland and people.

Dear guests, every year the cermonial oath-taking of our young officers happens here before the parliament building, under the state flag, in the immediate proximity of the statues of the outstanding statesman of our history, Ferenc Rakoczi II and Lajos Kossuth. It is not by accident either that we hold the public swearing-in ceremony of the officers of the Armed Forces on 20 August. On this day we remember the birth of our Magyar constitutional statehood and its founder, King St Stephen. [passage omitted]

The new officers' oath, recently approved by parliament and spoken today for the first time, also stipulates for our young officers that they should serve our homeland always true to our people and our constitution, and that they should protect and safeguard our homeland's borders and peace. This is the calling of our People's Army. This is what the people of the country expect from their soldiers, and those who chose this service as their vocation and fulfill it with honor can deservedly count on the respect of the people. All responsible citizens in our society can justifiably demand, even in the difficult situation of our country today, from their Army that according to the interests of our whole nation, the constitution, it should faithfully serve the interests of our homeland. With its inner order, organization, discipline, and unity it should ensure that no kind of irrational action, blinded external or internal force should be able to disturb the creative work of our people.

The social reorganization which has begun in our homeland can be successful only if it goes through free from all force, through the way of political dialogue, and coordination of interests, in the framework of the democracy that is developing ever more widely. If ever, now is the time when we really cannot expect others, either East or West, to avert the obstacles looming on the path of our development, instead of us. However, we do count on their sympathetic attention, which can support the Hungarian nation in its endeavors to find a new way, through the use of its own resources, though not isolating itself either, and stubbornly determined to improve its own fate, for which it is ready.

Esteemed audience, our country's population, as are peoples all over the world, is following with great attention, despite our internal problems, the development of the international situation and the deepening of the detente process. I can speak with joy about the fact that the world today presents a more favorable picture than it had for many years. The Soviet-U.S. dialogue has become continuous. The matters of arms limitation and settling regional crises is developing encouragingly. The Helsinki process is making progress. These are encouraging developments of great significance, and if they become lasting they can strengthen hopes for a more beautiful future.

The government of the Hungarian People's Republic in all its activity is striving to help this process, to contribute to the deepening of European security and cooperation. We are not simply passive observers but active contributors to history. To the extent of our strength and abilities, we wish to and will in the future play our part in the construction of a joint European home.

However, in every step of ours we must start from a sober evaluation of realities. We see that while a radical change is underway in the sphere of disarmament, and both alliances have recognized the impossibility of a new war, the practical steps which have been taken are only the start. In the reduction of the level of military opposition there has not yet been a decisive turnabout. This continues to be an inherent danger. In these circumstances, the active appearance of every country's realistically thinking peace-loving force is necessary.

Our homeland together with the Warsaw Pact member states, based on the principle of mutual and indivisible security, is striving so that the balance of forces necessary for sufficient defense should come about at the lowest level possible, excluding the possibility of carrying out unexpected attacks and large-scale offensive military maneuvers.

The pace to date and results of the talks in Vienna between the member states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the reduction of conventional military forces and weapons fill us with confidence and hope. Together with the Soviet Union and our other allies we are ready for every further effort in the interests of significantly reducing military opposition within a foreseeable, short space of time, simultaneously reducing the role of military factors, and giving priority to the comprehensive, political, economic, humanitarian guarantees of our security. The declared and already initiated unilateral reduction of military force and weapons has convincingly expressed our intention and endeavors.

Alongside the political and economic cooperation, we deem the extensive guaranteeing of basic human rights as indispensable for the strengthening of confidence among European peoples, as this was formulated 15 years ago in Helsinki. In the interests of this, here at home, and also in the international arena we have taken numerous new steps. We have expanded and strengthened the legal guarantees of human and civilian rights. We have joined international agreements and organizations. Many bitter experiences of the historical development of the fate of the Hungarian people bear witness to the outstanding significance of all this in international relations. Here, in central Europe at the end of the 20th century, peoples justifiably take a stand so that one of the most basic of human rights, nationality rights, is respected everywhere. We are filled with deep anxiety by the fact that this has not yet been recognized everywhere, and the harsh violation of nationality rights forces thousands of people to leave the land of their birth, their homes.

Dear guests, in parallel with our consistent foreign policy endeavors, based on the approval of our government, we are continuing the reform of the military forces. In this

framework, we are modernizing the organization of our army and its armaments and we are developing the readiness of our soldiers. Our army construction conception is directed against no one and is required only to fulfill the demands of defense. This reform, during which we will extensively keep in mind our country's resources and our national interests, will reshape our People's Army following the building of a military force that began several years ago.

Our aim is that, in accordance with the requirement of the time, we should always have a defensive force that is capable of guaranteeing the security of our country.

We deem as indispensable the development of internal relations and the atmosphere of the army, keeping pace with the processes developing in society, with the increasing role of general human and citizens' rights. We are amending our regulations in the spirit of the current accord with the legal order. For the implementation of our very important tasks, as to date, the confidence and support of our people are indispensable. We are striving with all our efforts for our newly forming defense policy to be accompanied by national consensus, and for our People's Army, with its steadfastness, defensive readiness, and human relations, to be worthy of this confidence. Our most important resource is the steadfastness of our soldiers, the devoted conduct of our officers and NCO's, ready for sacrifice. Only with their active participation can our problems be solved.

We know that today our professional soldiers are disturbed by many things. Thus it is necessary that we give them a clear perspective, we should strengthen their self-confidence, the hopes they place in the future, so they can devote all their attention and creative energy to implementing their tasks.

The attention of the military leadership extends to the education, training, and circumstances of service of the draftees too. The amendment of the defense law in June brought changes of a European scale in the fulfillment of military obligations. We will continue the work which has begun. Alongside the strengthening of order and discipline, it is a not secret aim of ours to make the draft system more just, to abolish the constraints which have hitherto gone together with service but which have ben superseded by life, to democratize human relations, and to further reduce service time.

My dear young brothers in arms, as of today an important role falls to you too in our People's Army. You are already awaited at your appointed places of service. Your commanders, experienced older work companions, brothers in arms, will help to overcome the initial difficulties. Do not hesitate to make use of this possibility. During your studies you acquired modern knowledge, and I am certain that you will fulfill your tasks steadfastly, with a great sense of vocation. Always keep pace with the rapid development of science and technology. Be receptive toward what is new. Be exemplary commanders, sensitive to people. Educate your subordinates always to respect and love our homeland, to absolute commitment to the legal order, to be demanding and resolute.

I wish with all my heart that you find joy in the wide-ranging, interesting, but not always showy tasks that often put people to the test. In your family and private lives be well balanced, contented, and happy people.

My brothers in arms, on the occasion of your ceremonial oath- taking I express gratitude to all those who directed your attention to the path of armed service of the homeland and encouraged you in the realization of your intentions. [passage omitted]

Berecz Discounts HSWP Split Possibility

LD1808143289 Budapest MTI in English 1345 GMT 18 Aug 89

["The Future of the HSWP—Berecz Interview"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—A split in the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP)] could be useful at a certain time, but would be tragic for all tendencies and would lead to a power vacuum if it were to come about today, said Janos Berecz in an interview published in the latest issue of the Austrian political weekly 'DIE FURCHE'.

The member of the HSWP Central Committee and former secretary of the Central Committee was of the opinion that a sensible agreement that satisfies all tendencies within the party should be reached at the party congress this autumn, as a party split would seriously endanger development towards constitutional statehood.

At the same time, Mr Berecz feels it is conceivable that the HSWP might divide into two after the congress.

Commitee Member Ivanyi Says Grosz To Retire

LD2008202589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Karoly Grosz plans to retire, said Pal Ivanyi, Political Executive Committee member, replying to a question at the Margaret Island event organized by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Budapest Committee. He also said that he is entrusted with the investigation of the Csaba Tabajdi case and he will submit a report regarding the matter at the next Political Executive Committee session.

Opposition Roundtable Discussions in Progress

Press Conference on Talks

LD1808202889 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—Openness and the progress of the trilateral discussions were in focus during the Friday press conference of the Opposition Roundtable (OR).

It was reported by Gyorgy Szabad that it is the firm intention of the OR to inform the public press conferences and the media.

Speaking about the concepts of the OR represented at the trilateral discussions, Laszlo Solyom said that the OR would wish to discuss three issues. One of them is the discussion of a law package spanning the whole issue of openness. This would comprise related laws on the new press law, protection of data and freedom of information, including postal regulations (e.g. the distribution of frequencies). The other package would regulate neutrality during the run-up to forthcoming national elections. According to the OR's view an unbiased supervisory committee should be set up to oversee the impartiality of the national media. Thirdly, the OR would like to include on the agenda other everyday problems such as the restoration of previously banned press publications.

It is also considered necessary by the OR, that the general situation of openness should be surveyed at the trilateral discussions, the issue of the printing houses, and the possibility of limiting the HSWP's [MSZMP] monopoly of press, with special regard to county periodicals.

It was announced at the press briefing that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party is soon to rejoin the Opposition Roundtable.

Soviet Ambassador Attends

LD1808222889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers, the chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], recently stressed that the MSZMP did not wish to monopolize relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet side has also indicated more than once that it holds the same view.

Today this was demonstrated once again. Boris Stukalin, Soviet ambassador in Budapest, visited the Opposition Roundtable [OR]. In the parliament building, Jozsef Antal, the representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, briefed the Soviet diplomat on the organization and work of the OR. The organizations participating in this body have stressed that they regard the visit by the Soviet ambassador during the vital phase of the talks as recognition of their existence and goals.

European unity, neutrality, and the question of Hungary's stability received great emphasis in the course of the discussions. Stukalin spoke about a new law under preparation in the Soviet Union which will fundamentally improve the situation of religious believers. Speaking of the question of neutrality, he confirmed that every country has the sovereign right to determine its own future.

Both sides recognized with pleasure the changes in the situation of the Hungarians living in the Soviet Union and expressed the view that it would also serve as an example to other countries if the Hungarians of Sub-Carpathia were given administrative self- government.

Pozsgay on Conflict

LD1908212489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] Zoltan Farkas has interviewed Minister of State Imre Pozsgay about the announcement by Geza Kilenyi, deputy minister of justice, at the beginning of the week that if the political conciliatory talks failed to produce an agreement on the crucially important laws, the government would submit these laws to the National Assembly even without an agreement.

[Begin recording] [Farkas] Many people felt at the time that this announcement amounted to the destruction of the conciliatory talks or that this was an attempt to divide the members of the Opposition Roundtable. In the meantime, the opposition unanimously rejected this form of pressure and yet the talks have not come to an end. Were we mistaken in our pessimistic evaluation at the beginning of the week or was it a genuine conflict that arose at that point?

[Pozsgay] It was a genuine conflict but one has to consider not only the content of the statements but also the psychological aspects. It has become clear that suspicion is still very much alive among the negotiating partners, and it is particularly strong among the members of the Opposition Roundtable vis-a-vis the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. I understand this suspicion. There are experiences, bad experiences, behind it, and thus the most diverse passions manifest themselves wherever it appears that the rules are transgressed, or whether the rules are in reality transgressed.

[Farkas] Forgive me, but this is not merely a case of suspicion. Some of the parties and organizations belonging to the Opposition Roundtable put up very strong arguments against the nomination of a strong president of the Republic for the transitional phase. Thus, what is involved is not merely a suspicion that some people want to undermine the political conciliatory talks and that these people do not want a solution; rather, they claim that this in itself is a dangerous situation.

[Pozsgay] This is a dangerous situation, but let us then analyze the internal structures of these dangerous situations. To stay with the Kilenyi announcement for the moment, there is something which the participants in the Opposition Roundtable failed to notice, namely that this was a professional view and an alternative that was offered to the government as well. I do not know whether it was formulated in a very appropriate manner, but they had no reason at all to interpret it as the stance of the government. At the same time, I also say that if the statement is made by a deputy minister, that is, a government official, someone who is a member of the MSZMP negotiating team, then it could give rise to misunderstandings. We shall clarify this among ourselves and among the MSZMP negotiators. One thing is certain, namely that the MSZMP delegation expects the talks to have in a positive outcome; and it is this goal which will motivate its conduct when it sits down at the negotiating table next week.

Regarding the institution of the president of the Republic, it continues to be the subject of political debates on what form of state Hungary should have, either with a modified constitution or in a new constitution; and within this, on the establishment of a Republic with a president, and also on the functions which such a president should have. However, this debate goes on not only between the MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable but also among the participants in the Opposition Roundtable.

[Farkas] I can imagine very well that in this whole debate your position is the most uncomfortable. After all, here you are, a minister of state, who has to qualify somewhat what a deputy minister said. From another angle, you are the candidate of the MSZMP for the post of president, as well as one of the participants in the political conciliatory talks and the leader of one of the sides—possibly the most important side. Can these three functions get mixed up in a given instance? Let me add that this might also have a bearing on your personal political ambitions. after all, you have announced—uniquely in Hungarian political life—that you want the post of president of the Republic. When the question comes up as to what sort of president of the Republic we should have, and your second or third position involves seeking an agreement at the political conciliatory talks, how do you solve this dilemma? Which ambition is the stronger?

[Pozsgay] I try to solve this contradiction in an honorable way. You are quite right in thinking that this has created a very delicate situation for me. In a situation like this only the observation of ethics, of elementary moral rules, can help. From this point of view, the only guidance for me is the overriding need to promote the success of the talks, because our people need one thing above all, namely for us to carry out this transition in a peaceful way, moving from dictatorial socialism to a democratic constitutional state; and in this case every personal ambition must be subordinated to this. I have experienced such conflicts several times in my life. I carry out all my actions under of the public's gaze. What I am asking is that it should be public opinion and not party interests which decide whether I am indeed acting honorably.

[Farkas] Almost simultaneously with this transmission, you analyze the possibilities and nature of a future Hungarian Republic in a speech in Debrecen. What will the president of this future Hungarian Republic be like?

[Pozsgay] To use a far-from-official or professional term, the plan within whose framework I was nominated for this post calls for a medium-strength president of the Republic. This means that he can dissolve parliament if it is incapable of contributing to the work of the government and guaranteeing the unity of the country. He is commander-in-chief of the armed forces, gives guidance on principles for the international relations and foreign policy of the country. He appoints the prime minister on the basis of the recommendations of the parties and on the basis of preliminary consultations, so that the prime minister is able to form an effective government inside the National Assembly. At the same time, he is restricted in his power by the National Assembly, in that he can use the armed forces for the maintenance of internal order and for tasks abroad only with the approval of parliament. While the dissolution of parliament is regulated by laws and not by his arbitrary judgement, inasmuch as the appointment of a prime minister, he needs to mediate between the parties, conciliate on the basis set down in law, these are real functions and powers, but regulated so there is no scope for evasion, and this creates not a dictator but a friend of the people of the country.

[Farkas] Are you not afraid of these functions? After all, in some ways these would make you, if not the master of life and death, at least the master of the country.

[Pozsgay] No, it is precisely the restrictions which encourage me.

[Farkas] But one could also raise the possibility that perhaps you will not get elected.

[Pozsgay] Naturally that is so. I regard this as a competitive situation. It is the people, my compatriots, who will have to decide, who will have to choose from the many kinds of talents appearing in the market place of political ideas and parties, to choose the personality who can rise above this everyday cavalcade and everyday market and who can, to some extent, be the representative of the people when he opens the way for the struggle between the parties, and also provide the scope for strong action in the government.

[Farkas] It is not only this that I had in mind, but also that there are many people who can envisage you as a president of the Republic of this sort, but who are afraid

that you will not be elected to this post and are consequently afraid of the idea of giving such a very great authority to the any other president.

[Pozsgay] I have also experienced this contradiction. Please consider valid my statement—which, of course, I regard as applying to myself as well—that if a man gets this post, who, even for 1 minute, wants to place himself above the law, it should be possible to remove him immediately and without mercy. Thus, we have to create legal, constitutional guarantees here. This should not depend on the personal goodwill of the president of the Republic in question, because if it depended on that, it would create personal rule. [end recording]

Justice Minister Interviewed on Constitution

LD2108022189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Interview with Dr Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, by Katalin Rangas; from "The Week" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The extended newsreel following this program will report on the St Stephen's Day celebrations in detail. But first, we deal with the constitution and the political emotions clashing around it. This debate has widened recently. [passage omitted]

This week, in political circles, a great sensation was created by the announcement of the deputy minister of justice that the government is going to submit the cardinal bills to the National Assembly, even if complete ageement cannot be found at the trilateral coordinating talks. [passage omitted]

Therefore, the following conversation has multiple topicality. The interview was conducted by Katalin Rangos with Dr Kalman Kucsar, minister of justice. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] It can be seen that this reform process is all the more protected if the regulations necessary for peaceful transition are operating and if the institutions, which stand behind these regulations and guarantee their enforcement, are successfully established. Well, now, we are talking abut a package. This package consists of four constitutional elements.

The amendment of the Constitution, I would like to emphasize, it is not a new constitution; the amendment of the constitution not only touches upon the post of president of the Republic, and this is the extraordinary element here. This amendment of the Constitution actually eliminates from the present valid constitution all those elements and regulations which no one accepts anymore, which are attacked regularly. for example, the regulation regarding the place of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party as a leading party. Instead of these, a paragraph in the constitution would guarantee the total equality of the political parties, would exclude the application of force to retain or obtain power, and would separate the party from the government in every relation. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] Is the new constitution in a good state?

[Kulcsar] I think it is.

[Rangos] Will it be possible to present it by 1990?

[Kulcsar] Probably. The constitution will be prepared and then it can be qualified.

[Rangos] But, presumably, it will be adopted by a new parliament, will it not?

[Kulcsar] Presumably; I have no definite stance because this does not depend on me; this is a political question.

[Rangos] But this would be logical.

[Kulcsar] Well, that probably would be logical, because the political relations which will be manifested in a new National Assembly, we can only consider tentatively today. It would help if a constitution prepared for a longer period of time is also satisfactory in this respect. I, myself, am ready to take responsibility for its text anytime, with pleasure.

[Rangos] Some political organizations would like to have a president elected as soon as possible. For example, the DEMISZ [Democratic Youth League] has organized a collection of signatures in this matter. What is your opinion about this?

[Kulcsar] I think that there is need for an institution of the president of the Republic, by all means, and this must not be judged by monetary party interests, suspicions, and fears.

[Rangos] So, how do you qualify this signature collecting campaign initiated by DEMISZ in the interests of electing a president of Republic.

[Kulcsar] DEMISZ, as a political organization, has the right to any kind of initiatives; the law allows for this, and besides, the National Asembly at its spring session obliged the government to submit the bill on the institution of the president of the Republic by October. Thus, the government has submitted to the stipulation of the agreement established by the political parties, according to which it does not bring any bills before the National Assembly which would not have been discussed by the triangular round table. Of course, there is no time limit, no deadline, thus, after a certain period of time, if agreements are seemingly not forthcoming, then the government is not bound by any kind of obligation. But it is bound, by all means, by the decision of the National Assembly.

However, I feel, and I would like to emphasize this, that Hungary can carry out this transformation in very rare and exceptional conditions in its history. These conditions will not be present until the end of times. Thus, we have to utilize this period; if we are unable to utilize it, history will never forgive us. If we use it well, and this peaceful transition is successful, then I can say what Churchill said at the beginning of World War II: This was their finest hour.

FIDESZ Board Meets, Results Reported

Prague 1968 'Commemoration' Issue

LD1908120589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] The main issue at today's session of the board of Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] was Prague. Gabriella Szilagyi reports.

[Begin recording] [Szilagyi] Lajos Molnar Gyory, member of the FIDESZ board. There is now a recess in the meeting. What has happened so far?

[Gyory] In remembrance of the 1968 intervention against Czechoslovakia, FIDESZ and the Polish Independent Students' Association have decided to travel together to Prague, and to commemorate the 1968 events with a knapsack occupation [hatizsakos megszallas]. We hope they will allow us in. We trust they will. We leave at 2000 today, and we will come home in the evening of the 21st.

We know that earlier the Czechoslovak authorities warned that young people should not go from Hungary to Czechoslovakia, and that they should refrain from participating in the commemoration. However, we feel that the 1968 events, the occupation of 21 August, obligate us to commemorate the grave violation of human rights, that is, the national rights of Czechoslovakia. [end recording]

Board Member on Elections

LD1908142289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A council-session is being held today by FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the most radical Hungarian youth organization. Peter Szorenyi asked one of the board's members, Tamas Tirts, about one of the expected topics, the elections.

[Szorenyi] What is FIDESZ planning? How will it be able to step forth into the election arena? Will it do so within the frameworks of the opposition roundtable or with independent programs?

[Tirts] Obviously every organization has, or will have, its own plan. FIDESZ from many viewpoints is at an advantage. The organization's name is known, we have politicians like Viktor Orban or Dr Gabor Fodor, and it is obvious that alongside this what our election program will be like is very important.

[Szorenyi] If I am correct, FIDESZ is opening local offices.

[Tirts] Yes, it will be a new change in the life of the organization that five of our offices will operate throughout the country, in large rural towns.

[Szorenyi] What does FIDESZ plan? Does it wish to contest the elections in unity with the opposition, or with an independent program?

[Tirts] FIDESZ would like there to be a strong opposition election campaign, jointly with the various organizations of opposition. For this reason, we are holding talks with this aim. However, I also have to add that I do not think there is much of a chance for this.

[Szorenyi] Why?

[Tirts] There are rather pronounced differences between the individual opposition organizations, and these are appearing now.

[Szorenyi] Will this division not lead to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party winning the elections?

[Tirts] I am not afraid of that, since with the results it has achieved in the past 40 years, the communist party to be sure can count on losing the elections. That is my personal conviction, but without doubt there will not be the kind of unified opposition campaign that Solidarity had in Poland.

Independent Trade Unions Comment on Strike

Opposition To Strike

LD1808130889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] At first it was the Vasas trade union [for iron, metal, and power industry workers] and then the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] which reacted to the news that the workers are dissatisfied. What are the independent trade unions doing in this situation? Why are they silent? This is what I asked Istvan Vas, on the board of the Solidarity Workers' Trade Union Alliance.

[Begin recording] [Vas] We are silent, because we did not know much about it. We expected, and would have liked for Vasas to confer with us on this matter. However, this did not happen.

[Announcer] Shouldn't the reverse happen, that a trade union seeks out the workers and finds out that they are preparing to go on strike?

[Vas] This was a strike that was initiated from above. That is also why we did not feel that it was entirely sincere. I have information that initiatives have come from the opposite direction recently, initiatives that the trade union leadership has attempted to render infeasible in every way. Now, however, they are curiously and quickly initiating it.

[Announcer] What do you say to all this?

[Vas] Our opinion now is that this strike is not expedient because they are striking for a central intervention. These price hikes are not central price hikes, but measures by enterprises in trouble. Now they are asking that the state, with the word of authority, prevent these price hikes. This is not good, because this is precisely what we are fighting against.

[Announcer] And can you make the members of the Solidarity workers' trade union alliance accept this standpoint?

[Vas] Yes, we can make our members accept it.

[Announcer] And hasn't the idea arisen among your members that this trade union doesn't represent the workers' interests, since you want to dissuade them from striking?

[Vas] We do not want to dissuade them from striking but from striking over something senseless. If we go on strike, we should do so for something sensible. Otherwise, we regard it is a final measure. There have not been negotiations or discussions here yet. This emerged very suddenly, unexpectedly, in a strange manner. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now Tibor Vidos, representative of the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, states his view on the strikes.

[Begin Vidos recording] The Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions does not have a corporate stand on the subject of the rise in meat prices, or the strike that has been proclaimed. I believe that these trade unions, such as the Vasas trade union, which for decades were the characteristic representatives of the party-state, are trying in the current political situation, with various sham actions, to stabilize their own political situation and ensure political significance for themselves.

I believe that such an action is extremly spectacular. It may even be popular. At the same time, it diverts attention away from the real economic conflicts, from the fact that in the Hungarian economy, property-economic relations are in disarray, and these must be resolved, primarily. The rise in meat-prices is only the very tiny tip of this iceberg. It is possible to protect against it, and it can divert people's attention away from what, in truth, is the real problem. The danger arises that it may lead the country into a Polish situation, where there is economic anarchy, and it is paralyzed by continuous strikes. We do not wish to treat this path. We believe that it is worthwhile to strike only at the time and for the objectives which can be immediately resolved, and when strikes are directed against a genuine, real problem. The rise in meat prices in itself is not a phenomenon on its own, but it is a tiny link in an interconnected series of phenomena. We believe that to strike against this could only serve the selfish political goal of the organization that declares the strike. [end recording]

SZOT Reports Results

LD1808181389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] In a press conference held at 1530, the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] reported on the results of the strikes. Ivan Szello reports.

[Szello] The government will discuss in September whether the price of meat should be raised or not. The representatives of SZOT and the government will discuss the matter once again, probably within a week. According to preliminary reports, the number of participants in the strikes could have reached 2 million but was certainly more than 1 million. Precise figures are not yet available.

Every collective was able to decide for itself whether to strike, to hold a protest meeting to express its solidarity, or to refrain from striking. It was said that the problem could not be solved by the traditional methods, that is, instructions and subsidies, and such measures would only upset an otherwise functioning mechanism relating to products in the free-price category.

For these reasons, the government and SZOT appeal jointly to the managers of the relevant meat industry enterprises not to implement the price rises on 21 August, thus providing scope for further talks next week. These talks would also concern consumers who would be affected by the meat industry enterprises intended price increases, the current status of the standard of living policy planned for the current year, and how the measures can be fitted into the framework of the agreements between the government and SZOT.

Further Reportage on Problem of GDR Refugees

GDR Envoy Called to Foreign Ministry

LD1808135989 Budapest MTI in English 1316 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—On Friday, Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi summoned Gerd Vehres, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Hungary, to the Foreign Ministry, for talks about settling the affair of the GDR citizens staying in Hungary who wish to settle in the FRG.

Mr Oszi stressed that the Hungarian side continues to seek a solution to the issue depending on the contacts between the two German states, in the spirit of the Hungarian political and legal practice, and the generally approved international norms.

Ambassador Vehres once more said that settling the problem of the GDR citizens would be promoted by their return to the GDR. He reconfirmed that the people concerned do not have to fear any sort of detrimental consequences on their return home.

300 GDR Citizens Flee to Austria

LD1908172189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Near Sopron today, around 300 GDR citizens fled across the Hungarian border to Austria. They were able to do this because of the opening of a temporary crossing place, which was organized by the Pan-European Movement and the Hungarian Democratic Forum. The GDR refugees said that they found leaflets about the event, which was staged for the symbolic lifting of the Iron Curtain, in Hungary.

FRG Chancellor Kohl said that Bonn will give any financial aid to alleviate the situation of the GDR refugees who are in Budapest. In the interest of settling the matter, the FRG is in constant contact with Erich Honecker, the GDR's party and state leader, as well as with the Hungarian Government.

BORBA, the Belgrade newspaper, published a report that of the 200,000 GDR tourists in Hungary, more and more are trying to escape to the West across the Yugoslav border. [Hamburg DPA in German at 1641 GMT on 19 August in a similar report about the GDR refugees adds the following information: "According to correspondent's report on RIAS Berlin radio, the Hungarian border authorities are leaving the gate, through which the GDR citizens streamed into Austria, open apparently for more escapees. The report stated that 300-500 GDR citizens reached Austrian territory through the gate this afternoon."]

Official Comments on CSSR Note on Dam Issue

LD1908201189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpts] This week, independent of the talks underway on the Boes-Nagymaros [Dam], a demand for compensation arrived unexpectedly from Prague. What is the reaction from the Hungarian side? Henrik Havas has spoken to Government Commissioner Laszlo Udvari. [passage omitted].

[Begin recording] [Udvari] The fact of the verbal note surprised me, its content however did not, and it is not up to me to evaluate its tone. Primarily I refer to the fact that the Hungarian Government did not simply suspend work, but expanded the content of the work at the Dunakiliti Reservoir, with the suspension also of preparations for the transfer to the other channel. This means that on Czechoslovak territory no water will get into the 30-km-long water channel, and as a consequence of this, the Boes power station—contrary to the original timetable—will not be put into operation next year.

[Havas] This is a serious blow to Czechoslovak plans.

[Udvari] We gave information about this blow—if it can be called such—on 20 July along with the Hungarian proposals.

[Havas] What can be behind the fact that the reply came a month later?

[Udvari] Perhaps in the timing, the fact that we got this note now, there is in all certainty a political decision.

[Havas] So this could be connected somehow with 21 August, the anniversary?

[Udvari] I think so.

[Havas] We are speaking on Saturday morning [19 August]. When you arrived you emphasized you were not empowered by the government, you make statements now in your capacity as a government commissioner. I would still ask: When will the Hungarian Government reply to this Czechoslovak note?

[Udvari] I think that there must definitely be a reaction next week. [passage omitted] I propose most urgent talks at the deputy premier level, simply because a question of such significance cannot be decided through notes. It could lead to very grave mistakes in the preparation of decisions. We will urge the continuation of experts talks.

[Havas] One of the passages of the Czechoslovak government note states that Czechoslovakia claims compensation, which is the foundation for the Hungarian decision to halt. What do you say to this?

[Udvari] First of all, I dispute this demand for compensation, firstly because this system disrupts nature and is jointly owned. The risks and results of this must be borne jointly. The damage claims—insofar as I am familiar with them, unofficially as yet—far exceed what has been spent to date on investment. And I feel that this is one in a series of measures with which they are trying to exert pressure on the Hungarian Government if it were not after all to build the Nagymaros barrage.

[Havas] Psychological warfare?

[Udvari] I am convinced of it, because one of the variations of the compensation demand—albeit unofficial—is for several times that spent so far on the investment.

[Havas] Tell us what has been spent so far on it.

[Udvari] We know from Premier Adamec what has been spent on it so far—20 billion Czech Korunas. And, according to what we have heard, the compensation demand which they will probably officially convey to us in the coming days or weeks is around 50 billion Czech Korunas. [passage omitted]

[Havas] This tactic of the Czechoslovak government seems a bit suicidal. For the Czechoslovaks also know that the key to the investment lies in Dunakiliti. If we do not divert the Danube, they will not get one milliliter of water they could use. At the same time, the Hungarian Government has made known several times that on the basis of adequate ecological test results, we are inclined to compromise. So, after certain reassuring results, the Boes power station can be placed into operation on the basis of a compromise solution. It is as if the Czechoslovaks, with this policy which is not directed towards compromise, are slamming the door in their own faces.

[Udvari] This is how I see it too, for the second note handed over on 20 July proposes just this compromise. Regarding the question of where the key to the reservoir lies, the key to the Danube channel diversion, the unequivocal reply is that if the barrage is built the original way then the key to the Dunakiliti-Rusovce reservoir lies in Hungary. But, there can be a technical intervention at this reservoir, through dam construction in a way that the water should flow toward the water channel. But this is such a vast technical intervention, with regard to international law, that it must be seen as a unilateral step. For, to divert an international border river, over 30 km into the national territory of another country without our approval would, I think, be a European affair.

[Havas] I think we can conclude here, because such a Czechoslovak step would be so irrational and so contrary to the Paris peace agreements concluding World War II and the Belgrade agreement on the Danube that this possibility can almost be excluded, unless the Czechoslovaks resolved to take some kind of completely blind political step.

[Udvari] I trust that this blind step will not come about. [end recording]

Talks on Nuclear Cooperation With CSSR Held

LD1808211589 Budapest MTI in English 1636 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—A discussion was held between Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts in Budapest on August 15-18, on the possibility of cooperation on the nuclear safety, radiation protection and exchange of information concerning nuclear power stations. The discussions were attended by representatives of the Hungarian National Atomic Energy Committee and their Czechoslovak counterpart, including experts of the relevant Hungarian and Czechoslovak ministries. As a result, a draft agreement was worked out by the participants on steps to be taken.

An important item of the agreement under elaboration is the speedy and accurate information to be provided to the public on all important aspects of the utilization of atomic energy. In the preparatory process, Hungarian experts will also visit the nuclear power station being constructed in the vicinity of Moh, in Czechoslovakia [CSSR] close to the Hungarian border. In addition they will be acquainted with the installations serving the safety of the population and the environment.

Nyers, Other Officials Meet New Envoy to Cuba

LD1808212989 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Rezso Trautmann, vice president of the Presidential Council, Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian parliament and Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, met Bela Bardocz, new Hungarian ambassador accredited to Cuba, who is shortly to take up his post in Havana.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki Becomes Prime Minister

Mazowiecki Talks To Press

LD1808160389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1523 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] I would like people to feel that it can be better, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC editor-in-chief, stated when arriving at the Sejm building today for a meeting with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group. I am afraid of many things, he added, but if I was only afraid I would be a total pessimist. However, someone must try.

Asked by journalists in what did he see hope, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said a few important historic moments have shown that Poles were capable of finding the courage for new solutions—ones which are atypical and innovative—that we can achieve. He added, I see hope in the fact that this psychological moment is happening precisely at this moment, that people feel that something depends on them.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki also let it be known that he held talks today with President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Polish primate Jozef Glemp.

Mazowiecki 'Ready' for Leadership

AU1808170589 Paris AFP in English 1655 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 18 (AFP)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a senior Solidarity official and the man seen as the likely choice to head a new Polish Government, said here Friday he was "ready" for the job.

But in remarks to reporters, Mr Mazowiecki, 62, hinted that President Wojciech Jaruzelski had still not made a final decision on who would be offered the post and said that "consultations" were continuing.

"I think I can expect an offer" from General Jaruzelski, Mr Mazowiecki said.

He added that should he be chosen to head a new Polish Government, he would not attempt to put the Communist Party into opposition. "Our objective is cooperation," Mr Mazowiecki said.

Mr Mazowiecki's remarks came after he met with Gen Jaruzelski for two hours earlier in the day for talks. He is widely expected to get the job, and would thus become the country's first non-communist head of government in more than 40 years.

A spokesman for Gen Jaruzelski said the name of the future prime minister would be formally announced Saturday evening. Solidarity sources said earlier Friday that Gen Jaruzelski had offered the job to Mr Mazowiecki. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Talks With Leaders

LD1808171989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The president has held talks with the PAX Association chairman, Zenon Komender; the Christian Social Union [UCHS] chairman, Kazimierz Morawski; and the Polish Catholic-Social Union [PZKS] chairman, Wieslaw Gwizdz. These talks were devoted to the creation of a new government.

Wojciech Jaruzelski has received National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] chairman, Jan Dobraczynski. He discussed the country's social problems with him, in connection with the need to create a government of broad agreement and cooperation.

The president also talked with deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ], Wojciech Obarski, about the country's social and economic situation; about the difficult conditions of working people's lives; about the activity of the trade unions and the prospects for the creation of a government with broad public and political support.

Mazowiecki Meets With Jaruzelski

LD1808193789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The editorial board of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has been authorized to print a communique which states the following: Today Tadeusz Mazowiecki [editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] was invited for talks by Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic. After this meeting Tadeusz Mazowiecki was received by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Primate of Poland.

This afternoon, Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group. Afterward he visited Jozef Slisz, chairman of the Independent, Self- Governing Trade Union of Private Farmers Solidarity.

Also this afternoon, he visited Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party, and Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee. He also met with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee. During the talks, the current situation in the country was assessed and ways to overcome the government crisis were discussed.

Kiszczak's Resignation Accepted

LD1908151789 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—President Wojciech Jaruzelski accepted resignation of Czeslaw Kiszczak from the post of Polish prime minister. (?He) expressed his recognition for Kiszczak's efforts to form a new government.

The president will soon ask Sejm speaker to recall Kiszczak from the post of prime minister.

Mazowiecki Named Prime Minister

AU1908144789 Paris AFP in English
1444 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19 (AFP)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki was named prime minister of Poland by President Wojciech Jaruzelski on Saturday, the official news agency PAP said.

Communique Names Mazowiecki Premier

LD1908165389 Warsaw PAP in English
1639 GMT 19 Aug 89

["PAP Communique"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—As a result of talks and consultations held with parliamentary and non-parliamentary representatives of socio-political groupings, President Wojciech Jaruzelski presented a proposal to Tadeusz Mazowiecki to take up the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a long-time Catholic activist. He was a Sejm (?Deputy) between 1961-1972. Later on he started activities in "Solidarity." He is one of the leading activists of this organization. At present he is editor-in-chief of the "Solidarity" Weekly.

In the nearest future, the president will table a motion to the Sejm speaker on the appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the post of premier and entrusting him with the mission of forming a government.

In the present situation, the president sees a need to create a government enjoying the necessary support of parliamentary floor groups and to build it on foundations of broad agreement between Poland's political and social forces.

The president thinks that the formation of such a government will be conducive to expeditiously overcoming economic difficulties, continuing reforms stemming from the philosophy and essence of the "roundtable", and satisfying the needs and aspirations of Polish society.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Future

LD1908184989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki to unidentified reporter in Laski on 19 August; recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] I would like to thank you very much for allowing us to come here, for giving up your short single day of rest. Are you not frightened by the prospect of not having any free time?

[Mazowiecki] Yes. There are many things that frighten me. This is why I have come here to meditate a little before facing what is expecting me. You know my friend Jerzy Zawiejski called this place his spiritual fatherland; I also consider this place, Laski, as my spiritual fatherland. As you can see, this is an institute for blind children run by Franciscan sisters, servants of the cross. Here, when one comes in contact with the blind—with their suffering and with their optimism—and because of this institution's serenity, one regains strength. And I need it.

[Reporter] One needs optimism [words indistinct] but even in this place we can not run away from politics. I must ask, how do you see the coalition government?

[Mazowiecki] This idea was originally put forward in the statement Lech Walesa made with United Peasant Party chairman Malinowski, and Democratic Party chairman Jozwiak. The statement put forward a broad formula saying that the future government would be open to all pro-reformist forces—one can say it would be a broad coalition government.

[Reporter] Are you thinking about how to overcome the difficult economic situation in which we find ourselves?

[Mazowiecki] Undoubtedly this is the most difficult problem. Naturally I think about it; but no one has a miraculous solution; many factors have to be taken in together. I think that the people themselves should believe that this country could be better, that not everything should be wasted, that young people do not have to leave the country. Interest among the people should be awakened, and I hope that it will be so, that the progress of changes which are now taking place together with the formation of the government will influence this.

[Reporter] Do you think that we Poles, in these very difficult times, can afford a bit of altruism, so that we stop saying give; and that we try to behave slightly differently?

[Mazowiecki] I think that there were very many historical moments in our lives, even in yours, despite the fact that you are much younger. Even this year demonstrates this, not to mention 1980. We can do a lot; we are able to get strength from ourselves. I know it is not easy, but possible if we all feel that we are on our own, it has some sense and it leads to something, this is what I am counting on. Simply, there is no other way, and here the government must be conscious of the fact that it has to create and open new opportunities, but it will not substitute people.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Walesa on Mazowiecki Appointment

LD1908214789 Paris Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Excerpts] It has been official since this afternoon. In Poland, General Jaruzelski has appointed a leader of Solidarity, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, to the post of prime minister. [passage omitted]

Lech Walesa's reaction was not long in coming: The ideals for which we have fought have compelled recognition. I can thus retire and concern myself with the union Solidarity, says Walesa, who adds: The battle of my life seems to be over, as society at last has the opportunity to govern according to the principles of liberty and democracy.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Meet Residents

LD2008200589 Warsaw PAP in English 1812 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 20—Premier designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki and chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity Lech Walesa had a short meeting with Gdansk residents after a mass at St. Brygida Church here at noon today.

Presenting Mazowiecki to those gathered, Walesa stated: I would like all of us to take responsibility for Poland. One must build Poland. One must contribute to this. The premier alone and Walesa will not do much. We will create possibilities for all who want to construct reforms, who do not object to just anybody, who are for a better Poland. One must build though it will be difficult.

Walesa also stressed that in the current situation trade unions must reassess their attitude towards work, try to help.

Mazowiecki, enthusiastically greeted, expressed his joy over a meeting held in the birth-place of Solidarity and said: I face immense tasks. I understand that Poland needs, first of all, bread and not a premier but what to do to satisfy all? In my opinion there is only one road. Today we sang at the church: "Poland lives, Poland develops."

One must fight down the feeling of hopelessness, one must believe that this nation is a wonderful one and it may lead to a situation in which living standards will improve in Poland, nothing will be lacking in Poland, nobody will be leaving Poland. It is this feeling of helplessness and weakness that we must reject today—at the historic moment which opens a new chapter, since nobody will do anything if he does not believe that we can do it. Why should we be a nation that is not able, cannot do anything?, Mazowiecki continued.

But first one must believe that we are strong. There is no other road for me if I am to be the future premier. When I see difficulties, I must believe that we will manage to overcome them, he added.

The rally at the churchyard was accompanied by a noisy counter- demonstration staged by youth representing Fighting Solidarity and the Alternative Society Movement. Nearly 30 young people chanted against everything and everybody such as "Down with commune" (communism—ed. note) and "We want bread and not premier."

For several months now Gdansk residents have been ignoring those radical demonstrations held every Sunday, their response being amusement at the best. This time they responded with indignation and supported Walesa, who commented on those extremist activities as a manifestation of not pluralism but mere anarchy. Beating and shouting will not bring about more bread, he said. If you do not want to help, do not make a nuisance of yourselves, Walesa appealed.

Law enforcement forces did not have to intervene.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Interviewed

LD2008181289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] In Gdansk there has been a meeting of the Presidiums of the National Executive Commission [KKW] of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP]. Here is our correspondent's report:

[Correspondent] The small conference hall was bursting at the seams after journalists were allowed in for a few minutes. The tens of cameras were directed above all at Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who sat behind the presidium table next to Lech Walesa and Professor Geremek.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Can you tell me when we will be able to address you as Mr Premier?

[Mazowiecki] I do not yet know the date of the Sejm meeting, but I guess there will be (?another) meeting of the Sejm soon.

[Correspondent] How do you see the composition of the government?

[Mazowiecki] (?According) to the formula that Lech Walesa formulated together with the chairmen of the United Peasants' party and the Democratic Party, that is, on a wide base, comprising all the forces represented in Parliament. And no personnel details—it is still too early to say, or even give some political arrangement, as I am to start the talks only today.

[Correspondent] Do you see only participants of the new coalition in the government?

[Mazowiecki] No, not only them. [Word indistinct] said that this will be a broad composition.

[Correspondent] Did you not have any doubts before taking on the candidature, if I can put it like that?

[Mazowiecki] You know, a man who had no doubts would be stupid. I surely must have had doubts, and everyone in my place would have doubts and even fears. But, well, as I have already said, someone has to start.

[Correspondent] I wish you a good start to your (?rule). [Correspondent turns to Walesa] Just two questions to you, sir: the subject of today's discussions between the KKW and the OKP.

[Walesa] We discussed the laundry, because democracy likes accords, explanations about decisions, and well, now we will wash the laundry a bit so as to more easily take part in democracy. That is the main aim of all this that is taking place now.

[Correspondent] How long do you see the discussions continuing?

[Walesa] Not long, 3-4 hours I think. [end recording]

[Correspondent] When I left the hall, Jacek Kuron—who was late for the discussion—was asked, almost before he sat down, about the problems that the new premier will face in the creation of the government. He replied with the lyrics of a song:

Water thunders sinister

Deep inside the pool,

It's nice to be a minister

But it's hard to rule.

Walesa, Mazowiecki Attend Rally

LD2008182789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] At noon today, following mass in St Bridget's church in Gdansk, a short meeting was held between premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, and the town's inhabitants in the church courtyard.

The Solidarity chairman [Walesa] emphasized that in the present situation the trade unions must also reevaluate their attitude to work, to try to help. Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that we have to (?exercise) ourselves of the feeling of hopelessness; one must believe that this nation is a splendid nation and able to bring about a situation in which people live better, nothing is lacking in Poland, and no one emigrates.

The rally in the church courtyard was accompanied by a counter- demonstration of young people under the banner of Fighting Solidarity. The attempt to start disturbances yet again came to nothing.

Mazowiecki Discusses Cabinet

AU2108073989 Paris AFP in English 0136 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Aug 21 (AFP)—The Polish Communist Party demanded a significant share of power on Sunday as premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki discussed the composition of his cabinet with leaders of the Solidarity labour movement.

In the Baltic port of Gdansk, Senator Jacek Ambroziak said Mr Mazowiecki told a meeting there of union leaders and pro-Solidarity members of parliament that he was in favour of "a broad coalition" government.

The communist party's Central Committee had earlier said that only "a broad coalition" could win "the confidence of all levels of Polish society".

Sen Ambroziak told a news conference that there were differences of opinion within the union's executive and within the Club of pro-Solidarity MP's, but said neither body sought to impose its views on Mr Mazowiecki.

Earlier Sunday, the communist party's Central Committee said it wanted "representation in a future government corresponding to its political weight". [passage omitted]

In Gdansk, Sen Ambroziak said that Mr Mazowiecki's choice of government ministers figured largely on the agenda of his meeting late Sunday with the union executive and with the Club of pro-Solidarity MP's.

The meeting was designed to work out the basis for cooperation between the union and the future government, he said, adding that this cooperation "must be in the best interests of the country and of society, in spite of the inevitable differences of opinion which will emerge."

Differences had already appeared, Sen Ambroziak said. He did not elaborate, but observers here said these were probably over the number of ministerial posts to be allotted to the Communists.

Solidarity, the Peasants and the Democrats have already agreed to allow the Communists to retain the defence and interior ministries. [passage omitted]

Walesa: Not Replacing Communists

LD2008201989 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 20—The first issue of the"TYGODNIK GDANSKI" weekly, the paper of the "Solidarnosc" members and sympathizers, dated August 20 was

published here. The weekly carries comments, reports, information from the world, country and region, an interview with Lech Walesa among them.

"The point is not in defeating Communists, Walesa stated in the interview, and in taking their place, but in building a new global structure based on economic, political and trade union pluralism."

Solidarity Executive Committee Meets in Gdansk

Internal Problems on Agenda

LD1908105289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk on the air. [Unidentified correspondent] The National Executive Committee of NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity is meeting in Gdansk today. There will be discussion of the issue of compensation linked with the increase in food prices, the problem of wages from the budget sphere, and the general political situation in the country. A discussion of Solidarity's access to radio and television and the functioning of nomenklatura companies is also planned. The union's internal problems will then be discussed: the forms of contact of its representatives with other social and political organizations and the principles of issuing authorizations for negotiations with the government side. The deliberations will probably go on until late this evening. Tomorrow, in accordance with earlier announcements, there will be a joint meeting of the National Executive Committee Presidium and the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group.

Solidarity To Form Government

LD1908171789 Warsaw PAP in English 1643 GMT 19 Aug 89

["Solidarity Executive Committee Statement on New Cabinet"—PAP headline]

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 19—The Solidarity Union Executive Committee KKW held a meeting here today. After the first part of the meeting a Solidarity press office sent the following statement of the KKW to PAP:

"The Solidarity Executive Committee KKW, having heard the report of Chairman Lech Walesa on his political talks concerning the formation of a new government, has given its full support to the idea of forming a new government by a representative of Solidarity-led opposition. This should produce a major breakthrough in the Polish public life by doing away with the to-date policy of monopoly of the party nomenklatura.

"The KKW expresses its confidence and support for the candidacy of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the post of prime minister expecting that it will have the support of the OKP (Solidarity) Parliamentary Club.

"Our union is aware of the dramatic material situation of Polish families and it expresses the conviction that the new government will immediately start prompt mesures to reform the Polish economy and defend the living standard of Polish people."

Spokesman on New Government

LD1908183989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity National Executive Commission [KKW] plenary session has taken place in Gdansk. Here is a statement by KKW spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

[Begin recording] [Onyszkiewicz] Having heard a report from Chairman Lech Walesa on political talks concerning the formation of a new government, the NSZZ Solidarity KKW has expressed full support for the idea of a Solidarity opposition representative forming a government. This should represent a fundamental turning point in the public life of the Polish People's Republic by breaking away from the party nomenklatura's to-date policy monopoly. The KKW expresses confidence in and support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidacy for the prime minister's office and expects it to get support from the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group.

Our union is aware of Polish families' critical material situation and believes that the new government will undertake immediate, vigorous, and decisive steps to reform the Polish economy and defend Polish society's standard of living.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you envisage the presence of ministers from the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] in the future government?

[Onyszkiewicz] Well, we do not think the situation would be such that the party would find itself in opposition and that our roles would be completely reversed. It has been said fairly clearly that in the new government certainly two portfolios—namely, I refer here to the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense—that these would be the realm of ministers from the PZPR, perhaps even some other ministerial posts.

Consequently, in fact, this will be a completely new situation in the sense that the prime minister will be a man from Solidarity circles but it will be a government formed by Solidarity but not exclusively from our ranks. There will be ministers from the ZSL [United Peasant Party], the SD [Democratic Party] and from the PZPR. [end recording]

Solidarity Support for Mazowiecki

LD2008014489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity National Executive Commission (KKW) has been meeting in Gdansk. Support for and confidence in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidacy for premier was expressed. Issues of the Union's economic activity and information work were also discussed. The Office of Economic Policy was instructed, among other things, to set up a joint-stock company and a foundation with the participation of the NSZZ Solidarity which would enable the union at various levels to engage in economic activity.

A meeting of the KKW Presidium and the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group has been announced for today. It is expected that Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who has been nominated for premier, will attend the meeting.

Further on Solidarity KKW Meeting

LD1908202289 Warsaw PAP in English 1948 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 19—The Solidarity National Executive Committee KKW held a meeting here today to discuss political problems related to the formation of the government, some economic issues, and to consider the union's organisational questions.

Referring to economic problems the KKW opined on starting and functioning of companies which previously were state-run enterprises. The respective resolution released to PAP reads:

We call on worker councils to suspend their consent whenever the genuineness of transformation of state-owned enterprise or its part into a company is doubtful until regulations and statutes guaranteeing this genuineness are issued.

The committee obliges all the regional structures to open information centres that would collect and relay to the KKW information concerning the union, the socio-political situation, and would also issue a bulletin informing the unionists about the stance of the union's statutory authorities and situation in the regions.

PAP Cites KKW Communique

LD2008183989 Warsaw PAP in English 1653 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 20—The "Solidarity" press bureau passed to PAP today a communique on the meeting of the National Executive Commission (KKW) held on Saturday. The communique reads in part:

"A meeting of the National Executive Commission of the Solidarity Independent Trade Union was held in Gdansk on August 19. Lech Walesa, who opened the debates, briefed the participants on the political situation in the country stemming from realization of the initiative to form a coalition government of the Solidarity, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. After discussion KKW adopted a statement supporting the candidature of Tadeusz Mazowiecki for prime minister.

"KKW enlarged its composition by two new representatives: Of Przemysl and Chelm regions and accepted three resignations motivated by the members' engagement in the parliamentary work.

"Next KKW heard a report on the presidium's work on the issue of compensations in connection with price hikes on food and information on the work of the trade union's assets reclamation commission.

"The meeting discussed also the problem of the Solidarity opinion on formation of companies set up by nomenklatura people (that is those promoted to high posts due to party's backing) and called on workers' councils to condition their consent to register such companies on their reliability."

Mazowiecki, Solidarity Hold Talks

LD2008150489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting of the presidia of the National Executive Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity and the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, devoted to problems connected with overcoming the government crisis, is taking place in Gdansk. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is taking part in the deliberations.

KKW-OKP Solidarity Meeting

LD2008185489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] For the first time in Gdansk the presidiums of the National Executive Commission [KKW] of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity and the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] have met for a joint meeting. The meeting was devoted to establishing principles of cooperation between the Floor Group and the union and exchanging views.

In connection with the designation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki as Prime Minister and the creation of a government by an opposition representative, the problems and principles of the activity of a government, Floor Group, and union triangle were also discussed, so that it would shape itself in the most advantageous manner for the country and society despite the unavoidable differences of opinion which will surely arise in the future.

During the meeting Tadeusz Mazowiecki reported on the political talks he held on 18 August with President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Primate Jozef Glemp, and representatives of the main political forces.

Expressing support for the mission of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Jacek Ambrosiak reported, that no conditions were presented to him. It is up to him to create a government which serves the country in the best manner. This is to happen as soon as possible, perhaps even by the end of August. One subject discussed at the meeting was, however, the matter of creating a broad coalition goverrment with the participation of all proreform parliamentary forces.

PZPR Politburo Views Government Appointments

LD1808184189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo met today to discuss precisely what is happening in politics and the economy and in matters associated with the appointment of the government, since the meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa, Roman Malinowski, and Jerzy Jozwiak. Proposals for the order and course of deliberations of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum were decided.

Warsaw, Wroclaw Groups Urge Coalition Government

LD1908100189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] The lengthening government crisis and political and economic instability of the country are becoming the cause of increased public anxiety about the future of the state, the security of citizens, and in particular, of living standards of working people. Members of the party are giving expression to this in adopted declarations and resolutions. A plenum of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Warsaw Committee was devoted to this issue. Various assessments of the situation and opinions on the subject of whether the party should go into opposition or build a new coalition were heard during the discussion. The PZPR Warsaw Committee Plenum adopted a stance in which members of the party demand clear and legible policies by the state and PZPR leadership. It continued to be recognized that only a supraparty government of a coalition of professionals would be in a position to halt the progressive degradation and impoverishment of society. Following a conference, the political activ of Wroclaw Voivodship adopted a resolution stating that the most appropriate, responsible solution to the current situation in Poland would be a government of a grand coalition, composed of representatives of all political forces represented in parliament.

14th PZPR Plenum Opens; Rakowski Speaks

Main Topic of Plenum Defined

LD1908105389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] The 14th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Plenum, whose main topic will be to define the party's stance toward the new pattern of political forces in the current, difficult socioeconomic situation, began an hour ago. In the corridors there is talk of the need to find either a formula for the party as constructive opposition or of the need to find platforms for selective cooperation in the new system of the currently forming grand coalition. At the same time, however, one feels a mood of anxiety about the country's future and the stability of reforms in circumstances of the absence of an unequivocal development program on the side of the opposition forces. Also affecting the mood is the equivocal stance and lack of full support for the direction of the occurring transformations in many party organizations. Numerous resolutions are being presented to the Central Committee, wherein there is repeated a warning that the endurance of society is becoming exhausted. Also repeated in the theme is the postulate of the unequivocal defense by the party of socialist values, and decided opinions that the breakdown or even departure from—as some opposition activists formulate it—a renegotation of the round table decisions, cannot be allowed to occur.

It is likely, therefore, that the deliberations will be difficult and stormy, since the situation is completely new. At present Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski is making a report introducing the discussion.

Additionally, as an interesting detail, a dozen or so foreign television teams have lined up at the main entrance to the Central Committee building where the deliberations are taking place. This follows someone starting a rumor that it is not inconceivable that official representatives of the opposition may arrive during the proceedings as guests.

Further reports will be broadcast between 1600 and 1700 [1400-1500 GMT].

Warsaw Reports Plenum Discussion

LD1908125689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] At this moment, an intermission is ending at the 14th Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum, after which the discussion is to continue. The course of the discussion so far may be summarized as an analysis and formulation of a diagnosis concerning the state of Poland, public expectations and moods [word indistinct] political structures and the ability to meet the new challenges facing the country. An attempt is being made to reply to the question of how to define the role of the party in this new situation in which it becomes one of several main political forces, and in circumstances in which none of these forces has sufficient predominance in parliament, which objectively forces a search for coalition solutions.

What ought to be the attitude of the party and its members to individual participants of the previous coalition, which has reformed, and to be honest, has passed into history? I am not talking about recollecting unexploited opportunities, or about the masochistic raking up of mistakes made, or about the so-called settling-up search for who should be accorded responsibility today for mistakes made at various times in the past. What is being said is that, above all, we must look forward. A new program must emerge, close to life's problems, legible to the public, agreed on with the party base but also with other political forces within the framework of a new coalition, out of responsibility, or in our system, coresponsibility for the country's future, for its economy, for the living standards of Polish families, for education, culture, health protection, the state of the natural environment, and many other issues. The party will be a spokesman for the basic values of socialism, which means expressing support for honest, effective work, social justice, parliamentary democracy, protection of the weakest group, and coming out against unlawful selfenrichment and and often unfounded overprotectiveness, against anarchy and replacing one power monopoly with another, this time an opposition one.

That's all. The discussion is currently in progress.

Rakowski Addresses PZPR Plenum

LD1908143789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] The 14th Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum is continuing its deliberations in Warsaw. The aim of the meeting, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski who is chairing the proceedings, is to discuss the current social and political situation in the country, and against this background, formulate a Central Committee stance. The plenum proceedings are taking place behind closed doors.

In his introduction to the discussion, PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski characterized the development of political events in the last few days. He explained the circumstances in which Czeslaw Kiszczak resigned from forming the government and those of the creation of a new coalition system in parliament.

Rakowski on Party's Stance

LD1908183389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Central Committee first secretary, by Jerzy Malczynski during a break in the proceedings of the 14th Central Committee Plenum at the Central Committee building on 19 August—recorded]

[Text] [Malczynski] I am speaking to Central Committee first secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski during a break in the 14th Central Committee Plenum proceedings. Comrade Secretary, a fundamental issue: What are you counting on? What should the party get from this plenum, the whole party?

[Rakowski] A clear definition of our position regarding the changes taking place in the country and first and foremost regarding the fact that a new government is going to be formed led by a prime minister from the opposition. So the party should get a clear answer on what its attitude will be. For our part, we precisely want to get from the Central Committee members a clear confirmation of the correctness and purposefulness of entering this government which is to group all pro-reform forces represented in parliament, or whether we should remain, or rather go into opposition. And that is the essence of this plenum. We want the party members, the rank- and-file party members, to get an unequivocal, clear answer, which is not confused in any way, which is not clouded so as to allow various interpretations.

[Malczynski] That's in respect of the whole party, but judging from the plenum proceedings, presumably there will also be certain recommendations for the Polish United Workers Party parliamentary floor group.

[Rakowski] Undoubtedly so, but that, I'd say, is rather our internal matter. What I mean is that it is important, but it is much more important what my comrades down below, as they say, are going to hear from the Central Committee and the party leadership, because it is for them that I have to care in particular, as well as think about them.

[Malczynski] Consequently, can we count on the party to understand this situation which has been forced by necessities? Because right now, after all, this is not a party initiative; it is an adjustment by the party to what has happened.

[Rakowski] I am counting on the party members to understand the decision that we are going to make, and from the debate it follows that it is proceeding unequivocally in the direction of accepting the correctness of entering the government that's going to be formed by the opposition.

I also believe that as a result of the political situation and the government configuration taking precisely this shape, there is a chance that our party will become a party of struggle. I have political struggle in mind. I interpret it as having to defend our program, our ideals, to defy all kinds of rumors, idiotic slanders, and attacks on the historic attainments of People's Poland. for instance, I consider that in spite of all the errors, all lapses, and tight spots that we have gone through—and that's not just something that we as a people have gone through, but many others go through all the time, we could say that is how the history of the world goes—we indeed have historic achievements which cannot be denied, and those who deny them or allow them to be denied—because that is in fact at issue—well, they confirm such negative appraisals and [words indistinct] to feel good about it, in this case justifiably.

Rakowski on Floor Group Plans

LD2008013789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Excerpt] In a statement for Polish Radio, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that certain recommendations for the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Parliamentary floor group would follow from the present Central Committee session. The Central Committee first secretary added that the formation of a particular political situation, and this, rather than any other, configuration of the new government gives rise to a special need for the PZPR to become more and more a party of political struggle, interpreted as a struggle to defend your program and ideals.

Party Plenum on Future Policy

LD1908152589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1423 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] As we have reported, the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Plenum is in session. Marek Lewicki reports from the Central Committee building:

[Lewicki] The deliberations of the 14th Party Central Committee Plenum have been continuing since 1100 today. After the speech by Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a very lively and sometimes stormy discussion took place. Its main currents were, first, the specification of the Party's stance in relation to the new arrangement of political forces currently being created in Poland, together with the distintegration of the heart of the coalition, hitherto gathered around the PZPR, and the making of a new coalition around Solidarity. Here the discussion mainly revolved around a diagnosis of the situation and the conclusions for subsequent political activity. Second was the outlining of a new Party strategy line within the context of preparations for the 11th Party Congress. It was suggested, in so far as it is at all possible, that it be convened earlier, under the condition, obviously, that it be very well prepared. So, this in effect is a call for the intensification of organizational and programmatic work, not for its acceleration at the cost of making its content shallow or inadequate. Third was the specification of tactics for the coming days, weeks and months, in which exceptionally important—and in many questions—precedent-forming transformations will be decided, both in politics and in the economy.

It was stressed in the discussion that a collosal portion of responsibility for Poland still rests on the party, regardless of a further development of events, as does responsibility for the political position of social left wing groups, for the socialist shape of reforms, and for the country's relations with its neighbors and the rest of the world.

On joining a great coalition—as has been proposed, but differently from one as negotiated at the roundtable—a government coalition in which a leading role will be performed by Solidarity, the PZPR cannot renounce its socialist principles, nor political struggle to regain the trust of the electorate, or to succeed in future elections.

Some delegates indicated the possibility of seeking new platforms of cooperation with the social bases of all movements grouping working people so as to create a new, broad front of left wing groups, which would excert social pressure on the leading state structures. It is in this context one should view proposals concerning cooperation with trade unions, youth organizations, various groups and associations of progressive intelligentsia, with the movements of Catholics and lay Christians.

It was urged in the discussion that the party should not be offended with any one, not close any doors, and support the offer of the 10th plenum, which recognizes pluralism, and the need for cooperation between all reforming forces supporting constitutional order.

The future will show just what in the new configuration is of strategic value, and what was only tactical and opportunist action.

It was also stressed in the discussion that entering the approaching period from a partly opposition position, the Party should practice what it demanded of others. That is, it should be a constructive opposition, guided by the best conceived interest of the people and the state.

Many of those taking the floor stressed that in order to fulfil the tasks it has set itself, the Party must fundamentally restructure itself, both in the programatic as well as the structural sense, and also form its leading bodies at all levels in a totally democratic way. It must become a lively social movement, with a program that is comprehensible to society and supported by the main social base, which is and will be the working people.

The deliberations of the 14th Plenum are still in progress.

Central Committee Favors Coalition

LD1908201989 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—A many-hour dispute produced a statement by PUWP [Polish United Worker's Party] Central Committee 14th plenary meeting which reads, among other things, that Poland can be extricated from the crisis with evolutionary and consistent reforms only by a government enjoying the widest confidence and social support including representatives of all parliamentary political forces in this country. We are still in favour of a grand coalition government.

Central Committee Plenum Concludes

LD1908224489 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—PUWP Central Committee met at its 14th plenary meeting here today. Its purpose was to discuss the present social and political situation in Poland and, in this context, formulate the Central Committee position. The debate, presided over by 1st secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, was held behind closed doors.

The Central Committee started with appointing a committee for resolutions and motions and approved the agenda.

Speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski stood for an introduction to the plenary discussion. He described the political developments in Poland with special regard to recent days, presented the key elements and conditions of the present situation, explained the circumstances of Czeslaw Kiszczak's resignation from the mission to form a cabinet, the emergence of a new coalition within the parliament.

A question asked by 1st secretary about the attitude of the Central Committee to the present situation and the expected developments was a practical proposal to start discussion in which 23 persons took part.

The discussion produced a Central Committee position, adopted by voting (one abstention) which reads, among other things: Poland can be extricated from the crisis by way of evolutionary and consistent reforms only by a government enjoying the widest confidence and social support including representatives of all parliamentary political forces in this country. We are still in favour of forming a grand coalition government, reads the document.

The Central Committee accepted Bogdan Kaczmarek as head of the department-secretariat of the Committee for Youth, Social Organizations, and Associations in the PUWP Central Committee.

In a closing speech Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski refered to the remarks and opinions voiced during discussion.

Krol Comments on Outcome of 14th PZPR Plenum

LD2008155489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Interview with Marek Krol, Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee Secretary, by unidentified correspondent on the "At Noon" program—live in studio]

[Text] The 14th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum took place in Warsaw yesterday. Today our guest in the studio of the "At Noon" program is Central Committee Secretary Marek Krol. Maybe we should start from the plenum since in fact our listeners don't quite know how it ended yet. It ended with the adoption of a PZPR Central Committee stance on the formation of a new government and the current political situation. Maybe you could say a few words about this.

[Krol] Yes, I understand that various rumors and opinions were ciruclating on the subject of this plenum just before it began since it was called by emergency procedure. But I believe that all of you, ladies and gentlemen, know very well what brought about this decision on the part of the party leadership. It was the change, and a fairly significant one, in the political situation after the initial decision of the president. I can say that the discussion at the plenum centered around many important matters concerning the changes which have occurred. But its essence was to answer the question formulated by the first secretary: Whether, as a party, we will decide to enter this grand coalition, with this [word indistinct] somewhat changed formula, or whether we will decide to stay in opposition.

I must say that I was pleasantly surprised—this is my personal opinion—since, in principle, voices suggesting that the party should take offense at what has occured and stay somewhere deep in opposition, did not emerge. The majority of colleagues and Central Committee members expressed support for our entry into this new coalition and attempt to jointly create the transformations which will soon take place. There was a feeling that opinions differed on the form of entering into discussions before the appointment of a government. Here, by the way, a suggestion is contained in the stance that we, as a party, having learned from the painful experience of cooperation with various forces, should sign a sort of political contract with the new government leadership.

[Correspondent] Therefore, can we expect the party masses, the so-called base, to share this view, since there are very varied opinions? After all, they were also reflected in the discussion—insofar as I am acquainted with the discussions, since the Central Committee proceedings were closed but, after all, I know a lot about this subject. There were no significantly opposing views, but there were various fears.

[Krol] Yesterday, one of the foreign journalists asked me a different question about several letters which appeared in TRYBUNA LUDU. These letters may be described as letters from the party conservative wing: We are giving up power. What can we do? We are being turned out into the street. They were letters from comrades from party organizations, from the so-called lower end. I tried to explain that I understand this perfectly. Often we perceive these changes in the situation in Warsaw a little differently and I understand the situation and cirumstances of colleagues in enterprises, in various institutions, who have immediate contact with and often not very good experience in these mutual contacts with representative of the opposition, as [word indistinct] was

called. I understand their fears which stem from normal fears about the future and their well-being. Well, I (?am aware) that here the self-preservation instinct is simply in operation. Such voices also emerged during the plenum and I would not criticize those comrades who are expressing this type of fear. However, I think that, as the party, we should do something, everything, so that after a new government is constructed, a situation will not arise in which there is a campaign against the Reds, as they say.

No Conditions Set for Party Cooperation

LD1908225389 Warsaw PAP in English
2200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—Shortly after the debate closed, Polish and foreign journalists took part in a meeting with PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee secretaries Marek Krol and Slawomir Wiatr.

Describing the topics and course of the plenum Wiatr stressed it was first of all concerned with hammering out a party position on the appointment of a new government. The Central Committee decided that the PUWP, with no offence to anyone, is ready to start coalition-like cooperation but not on any principles and conditions. Not every form of particpation can we call coalition. We are interested in a partnerlike participation in a government whose foundation will be a respected coalition agreement. The type of contract is not indifferent to us though the Central Committee did not go into details.

After the experience of the recent time we say with certain pride, albeit critically as well, that we are the sole political force in Poland that consistently stands on the ground of respecting the programmatic documents it has signed. We want the formula of PUWP participation in the government to be given a dimension of a contract determining both, the scope of this participation in power execution and the degree of responsibility. We are interested in such a symmetry.

Krol said that the first question asked by the PUWP Central Committee 1st secretary was: "Are we joining the government or stay in the opposition?" This was a predominating current in the discussion. There also were various opinions but none suggested transition to the opposition. Another frequent question was whether the PUWP should continue feeling itself responsible for everything that goes on in this country.

The PUWP Central Committee secretaries replied to a dozen or so questions following are some of them:

Q: Could the PUWP's assuming of the ministries of internal affairs and national defence be called as a form of coalition?

S. Wiatr: I personally would not call this a form of coalition.

M. Krol: A coalition with two portfolios for the PUWP would be a lame coalition, a window-dressing.

Q: Does the party insist on a certain number of portfolios in the government?

M.Krol: No, this will not be a bargaining chip it is not a goal in itself. We will not conduct any bargaining which could cause further tension.

S. Wiatr: We did not deal with this at the plenum, this is not a matter of key importance. We are rather interested in the issue of political co-responsibility.

Q: Mieczyslaw Rakowski mentioned about not giving up without struggle. What is this to stand for?

M. Krol: Both the PUWP Central Committee first secretary and the plenum clearly stressed that at issue is political struggle. All extraparliamentary measures have been ruled out.

Q: What will the future of party plant structures look like?

S. Wiatr: The PUWP parliamentary floor group intends to forward a proposal of passing a law on political parties. If this law determines the issues of party plant structures, the PUWP will have to comply with them.

PZPR Wants 'Appropriate' Representation

LD2008190789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] PAP has published the position of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee on the formation of a new government and the political situation. The document states, among other things, that the situation in Poland has been dangerously aggravated. The political construction of evolutionary institutional changes negotiated at the roundtable has been unsettled. A government of extensive national confidence has to be formed as quickly as possible. None of the main political forces in the country, says the Central Committee document, neither the PZPR no Solidarity can alone—and even less so when working against each other—cope with the threats and save the country from the collapse. Partner-like collaboration of these two forces, freed of mutual prejudices, could become a qualitatively new fact in the history of Poland. The representation of the PZPR in the new government must be appropriate to its political and state potential. Otherwise we shall not be able to accept coresponsibility for the development of events, states the PZPR Central Committee document.

PZPR Stance on Political Situation Reported

LD2008200289 Warsaw PAP in English
1913 GMT 20 Aug 89

["PUWP Central Committee Stand on New Government, Current Political Situation (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 20—The situation has dangerously aggravated in Poland.

The political construction of evolutionary systemic transformations, negotiated at the Round Table, has been upset. Citizens get ever more tired and embittered with the prolonged state of economic and political destability. Again enterprises become the venue of political strikes. It is necessary to possibly most urgently form a government of broad national confidence. Such a government must deal with Poland's real problems, everyday life of working people, animation of economic life, ensuring of social peace.

Only a government with the participation of all political forces represented in the Sejm can lead Poland out of the crisis by means of evolutionary and consistent reforms. The government of grand coalition shall not be replaced by alliances set up for immediate purposes. Their supporters will not be able to avoid co- responsibility for the current situation in this way.

The Central Committee states that the leaderships of the parliamentary caucuses of the United Peasant Party [UPP] and the Democratic Party (DP), having agreed to a coalition without the PUWP, broke an agreement on the set-up of political forces in the Sejm structure. The division of mandates between the PUWP, the UPP, the DP and the organizations of lay catholics and Christians was made on the basis of the assumption that this alliance was not of a passing nature, neither can it be subject to political game. If this agreement, many times confirmed by the Commission for Cooperation, ends in a fiasco, the initiators of the rift in the to-date coalition will carry historic responsibility for losing a chance for the country's transition to an era of a new economic and political order in a maximum peaceful way. To enter the road of confrontation with the PUWP cannot serve the interests of the country.

The PUWP, critically assessing the nature of cooperation within the coalition, shaped over years, started in early 80's to promote the increase in the importance of the UPP and the DP in the process of wielding state authority and also to advocate their strong representation in the current Parliament. Both parties' programmatic initiatives played an important part in the policy pursued by the to-date government, which was visibly manifested, for instance, in switching the food economy to market mechanisms in response to long and firm strivings of the UPP. The PUWP counts on further coalition cooperation with UPP and DP members loyal to the ideals of the round table and the adopted accords.

The Central Committee appreciates the readiness of Solidarity to accept co-responsibility for solving Polish problems in a real and not make-believe way. This creates a qualitatively new chance for winning social acceptance for bearing unavoidable costs of reforms.

None of main political forces in the country—neither the PUWP nor Solidarity—can cope with threats and lift the country out of a collapse on its own and the less so opposed to each other. Partner-like cooperation of these two forces, free from mutual prejudice, can become a qualitatively new fact in the history of Poland.

The PUWP representation in the new government must reflect its political and state potential. Otherwise we will not be able to take co-responsibility for future developments.

We will support the new government on condition that its programmatic platform and political structure is co-ordinated, which should take place before the premier is named by the Sejm. At the same time we declare readiness to search for new solutions, indispensable personnel and programmatic accords.

Poland must remain an economically and militarily credible link of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty. Our participation in the Warsaw Treaty has been a guarantee for national security for several decades.

Sejm Presidium Decides To Convene 23 Aug

LD1808183389 Warsaw PAP in English
1647 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 18—The Sejm Presidium decided to convene the Sejm's sixth meeting on August 23. The meeting is to begin at 12.00 hrs.

The agenda envisages:

—A report of the Economic Policy, Budget and Finance Committee and the Legislative Committee on the government draft law on some conditions of state budget management in August and September 1989 and on amending the budget law for 1989,
—The first reading of a Sejm draft law on abolishing death penalty,
—Question period.

Wiatr Queried on PZPR Role in Opposition

AU1808174089 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slawomir Wiatr, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Roman Chocyk: "Political Common Sense Calls For Cooperation"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Chocyk] In the last few weeks one has been able to notice a certain animation in the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and a desire to reform the party, its program, and its structures; to "adapt" the

party to the political situation. Quite understandably, this problem interests more people than just the party members. The 13th Central Committee Plenum was mainly devoted to the problems of economic restructuring, the way the government functioned, and so on and so forth. Internal party changes were less prominent. Will this now act as a brake on reforms and put the party in a weaker position?

[Wiatr] As a party we must concentrate on many problems at the same time. In the sphere of economics and political reforms, we are the moving power behind the profound transformations. As regards changes in the PZPR itself, these are without doubt insufficient and overdue. The party leadership which emerged at the 13th plenum is aware of this fact and has unequivocally given the green light to all new consolidations and redefinitions of the party coming from below. We fully support, not just merely tolerate, the various initiatives, political think-tanks, lateral structures, and new forms of political articulations which may lay the foundations of the necessary transformations.

[Chocyk] With such an approach, the effects will take some time before they are apparent. Time is the one commodity that the PZPR no longer has. Why is it impossible to accelerate this process? There is talk of calling an extraordinary congress but no date is in sight.

[Wiatr] There is no simple answer to this problem. We are redefining the political order and the new order of the party. This is required by our objective needs, and is called for by the expectations of our members and the changing conditions of political activity. I agree that we have to hurry, but this does not mean that we can overlook errors or take rash decisions. Even the congress itself, were it to take place in the next 2 weeks, would not be able to address or resolve all questions. The reforming action of the Central Committee must find a response in the actions of the rank and file. The future shape of the PZPR will be a result of the desires and views of the party membership. At the moment we are trying to replace "tired" symbols with new ones, and breaking the old molds, norms, and structures. Very often this has to be done by simple instinct. As a party that is jointly responsible for what is happening in the country, we have to ensure that these endeavors takes place within a framework of discipline and control. We do not have much time, but there are certain processes which cannot be avoided or ignored.

[Chocyk] What will happen if in the new parliamentary alignments the PZPR finds itself in opposition? The recent difficulties with the formation of a new government have shown this could be a possibility. There are even voices within the party that are suggesting there would be benefits for the party in such a situation.

[Wiatr] Opinions vary on the subject. There are those that say a period in opposition for the PZPR would favor its integration. There are others who state that we must not relinquish power. We cannot consider this problem from a purely partisan angle. The party is, after all, historically and politically responsible for the state and the development of social life. At this moment the most rational and responsible solution would be the formation of a grand coalition government of national accord. Only such a government will have the necessary support, political force, and social credibility, and will be able to govern effectively. Not every coalitionary configuration would have these attributes.

The PZPR has certain abilities to govern that other political configurations do not have. That is why it continues to be responsible for the well-being of the state. This is how it should be. Party interest may indeed dictate that it move into opposition. You show us what you can do, and we in the meantime will regroup internally and strengthen our ranks. It is because of this joint responsibility that the PZPR has to be ready to participate in a government of coalition. What is more, it must do its utmost to convince the others that this is the only rational way out. The new political situation which has come into being after "Solidarity's" talks with the Democratic Party [SD] and the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and Monday's [14 August] statement by Premier Kiszczak, indicate that conditions have now matured for this.

[Chocyk] What if even now agreement is not reached and we have a government of "Solidarity," the ZSL, and the SD, what would be the PZPR's reaction to the new situation?

[Wiatr] One cannot ignore such a possibility, but in terms of political rationale it ought not to come to this. The PZPR has publicly voiced many arguments warning against such a solution. It will not be responsible for the consequences. All rationally minded people, especially politicians, must understand that we are not yet a country of full parliamentary democracy. The possession of a majority in parliament is not a sufficient requisite for effective government. We still have some way to go before we are at the stage where parties can succeed each other in government without any destructive effects for society and the state. We must not forget this.

[Chocyk] Is the PZPR leadership disappointed and irritated by the actions of its main coalition allies?

[Wiatr] Compared to our past experience, we are undoubtedly faced by a completely new situation. As regards the ZSL and the SD, I believe they fully realize the consequences and implications of creating a new government, because of the simple fact that they have participated in government for a number of years. That is why we remain calm and cautious. The times when the PZPR was held responsible for everything passed long ago. That responsibility also rests jointly on the SD and the ZSL.

[Chocyk] The "roundtable" and its accords have had a stabilizing effect on the political situation in Poland. Lately, though, one has heard voices, especially from the opposition ranks, clearly calling for a renegotiation of the agreements, or for their abolition. It seems that only the PZPR still stands firmly behind the fulfillment of these agreements, even though it has had to pay the highest price for them.

[Wiatr] We are firmly behind all the agreements and contracts that were reached at the "roundtable." This was reflected in our election program, which, let us recall, several million people voted for. Regrettably, not all the political forces that participated at the "roundtable" have approached the jointly elaborated and accepted decisions in an equally responsible way, or have engaged themselves in a comparable way in helping to construct an evolutionary model which will enable us to pass from a monocentrist to a pluralistic system—a model which would not be a source of friction or cause complications for the state, society, and the economy. This is a question of one's own conscience and responsibility for one's own words.

[Chocyk] Facts, however, are facts. What is the way out? A new contract?

[Wiatr] If one sees others beginning to question a contract several months after having agreed to it, then our faith in a new contract will be limited, and we shall approach such a contract with caution. In a large measure this is a matter of the credibility that one has in one's partners.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Mazowiecki Appointment

LD2008125889 Paris Domestic Service in French 0530 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Yesterday General Jarulzelski appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki as prime minister. For the first time since World War II a noncommunist will lead the Polish Government. Lech Walesa's adviser believes that his cabinet will be able to achieve many things. [passage omitted]

President Jaruzelski expressed the view that a noncommunist government will contribute to promptly ending the economic difficulties, and in the PZPR, the official Polish communist party, the choice of Tadeusz Mazowiecki is considered acceptable.

Listen to Zenon Kula, a journalist at TRYBUNA LUDU, the organ of the Polish Communist Party, answering questions by Alain Legougueque:

[Begin recording] [Kula] Among the choices which exist in Solidarity, I believe that Mazowiecki was the best. In other words, he is a man with whom we can talk and discuss things. He is a man who was a member of the Diet during the 1960s-1970s. (?Certainly) [word indistinct] Mazowiecki is much more acceptable than someone else from Solidarity. I note also that he is a man who is closely linked with the clergy, with Glemp.

[Legougueque] Do you believe that the Communist Party will be able to work reasonably well with Mazowiecki?

[Kula] I am optimistic. [end recording]

[Paris Domestic Service in French at 0600 GMT on 20 August in a similar report adds the following remarks by Zenon Kula on the anticipated reforms to be adopted: "The grass roots are awaiting a congress. They are calling for the 11th congress, which will certainly be a congress which will allow us to transform the party, to transform it into another party which will have a different tone, a different program and a different statute. I do not know if it will manage to settle all the organizational problems this year. I do not think that we can wait any longer than the spring of next year."]

Paper on New Government, 'Finlandization'

LD1908084589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the Press Review]

[Text] The Sejm will make the final decision on who is to be the new premier, and on what the political composition of the new government will be, ZYCIE WARSZAWY stresses. If a Solidarity politician becomes premier, then a new quality of system of government will take shape. It must not be forgotten that the president of the Polish People's Republic, although he comes from the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], no longer sits in the governing bodies of the party. The position of party first secretary is also undergoing an important change in the political system. The post of premier going to a politician who is not a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, or even a member of that party is a completely new (?departure) in this part of Europe, (?not seen) for over 40 years. It wouldn't just be a new government, but a completely new system of government: maybe even, taking the international context into consideration, the first harbinger of Finlandization, Polish style, ZYCIE WARSZAWY states.

Commentary Views Importance of Grand Coalition

LD2008153789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Marek Lewicki commentary]

[Text] Yesterday, two Polish events made it to the top of agency reports: First, President Wojciech Jaruzelski offered the office of Prime Minister, and thus responsibility for forming a new government, to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a long-time Catholic activist, a leading Solidarity activist, and editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Second, the urgently convened 14th Polish

United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee plenum met to determine the position of the hitherto ruling party with respect to a new balance of power under which it loses its existing leading role.

Will Tadeusz Mazowiecki be able to form a government enjoying the support of all the main political forces and the necessary public confidence? This, to a large extent, will depend on further progress in negotiations on forming a grand coalition. The PZPR continues to be ready to enter a broad government coalition but, in a position adopted yesterday by the 14th plenum, it emphasizes that it can only do so under conditions which would ensure for it, and other participants in the coalition, participation in the running of the country's affairs proportional to the magnitude of public confidence manifested in the elections and to the political strength which it represents in reality. So far in history, there has not been a case of a ruling workers' party surrendering power to the opposition in an electoral-legislative way. Therefore, this is an especially significant precedent which makes not just the Polish public but, without exaggerating, the entire world—our friends and foes alike—look with great interest at what's going to happen now, how Polish affairs will progress, characterized as they are not only by a complex political situation but also by a protracted economic crisis along with accompanying inflation and deteriorating living conditions for the majority of the public.

Agency reports from Poland point to social tensions and strikes which are equally on an economic and political basis. The former two main PZPR allies going over to a coalition with Solidarity does not alter the fact that it, that is the party, still remains one of the most important elements in the Polish political system. If it were to go into opposition it could, with support from the OPZZ which has already shown two successive governments that it is a powerful independent trade union movement, effectively block government actions equally in the legislative forum and in socioeconomic practice. In the next few days the expected negotiations are going to bring an answer to the question we are all asking: What next?

TRIBUNA LUDU on PZPR Opposition

LD1908184289 Warsaw PAP in English
1708 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—In a commentary headlined "Dialogue Is Necessary with the Left-Wing Opposition," the TRYBUNA LUDU writes in part:

"'Dogmatics,' 'hardheads,' 'doctrinaires,' 'opponents of reforms'... how does one recognize them, where and why have they survived?

"I think that the current political situation in the party requires putting to detail and describing the functions of these people, their posts, political-economic program, goals as well as calling them by name. I think that particularly the party should be keen on revealing who these conservatives are and what they want. First, because the situation is equivocal when the foes of the socialist system and some leading officials in the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] and the state appear in a common front aimed against the said group.

"Second, this whole group—irrespective of who we include in it—is treated, as one can assume, as a left-wing group, a pro- socialist one. Perhaps really not the most modern one, perhaps a bit out-dated, possibly placing ideological assumptions before pragmatism but these are most frequently—if they are—active members of the party. The party, on the other hand, does not have too many of these lately.

"I hold, therefore, that lack of dialogue with them, sticking labels to them, is a serious political mistake. If it was possible to sit down at one table with the opposition and the opponents of socialism, then it is an outright obligation to talk with the left-wing opposition or one's own faction."

Paper Views Prospects of New Government

LD1908185189 Warsaw PAP in English
1733 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—In a commentary headlined "New Government or New System of Governing," the ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes in part:

"The current political situation in our country could be summed up in a short and sarcastic way by travestying one of Galczynski's "Zielona Ges" (green goose) theatre pieces: You did want pluralism—so you got it. In other words, we have found ourselves in a political system whose introduction so many demanded—both from opposition and government circles—and when this takes place, they cannot come to grips with this situation or do not understand completely new determinants and institutional solutions in which they are beginning to operate in.

/"The Sejm will ultimately decide who will be the new premier and what the composition of the new government will look like. If a politician from "Solidarity" becomes premier, a new political system quality will take shape. One must not forget that Poland's president, even though his roots are in the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], does not sit on the leadership of this party any more. The position of first secretary of this party in the political system is also undergoing an important change. The appointment to premier of a politician who is not a PUWP CC Political Bureau member—not a member of the party at all—is a completely new fact in this part of Europe in over 40 years. This would not only be a new government but an outright new system of governing. Perhaps even-taking into account the international context—the first sign of 'Finlandization' 'a la polacca.'"

Cardinal Glemp, Walesa Discuss Government

LD1808213789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] According to the Polish Primate's Secretariat, Cardinal Jozef Glemp has received Lech Walesa, the chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. Lech Walesa explained his activities over the past few days, whose aim is the formation of a new government. The interlocutors stated the need for efficient action to help form a government capable of remedying the difficult historic situation. The primate gave assurances of prayers for the greatest possible [word indistinct] of people who are taking on the responsibility for leading the state.

Pope John Paul Calls Jaruzelski Decision 'Good'

LD1908193389 Warsaw PAP in English 1814 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Madrid, Aug 19—Pope John Paul 2 arrived in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, the traditional site of pilgrimages. During statements for newsmen aboard the airplane, the pope assessed as "good" president Wojciech Jaruzelski's decision on the formation of a new government. He added that "everything which has been done is very important" and that this is "a step forward." The pope stressed however that "without doubt this is not easy."

Reportage on Area Work Stoppages, Protests

Party Members on Situation

LD1808223389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] In the ongoing government crisis, Poland's political and economic instability are causing an increase in social fears about the state's future and the security of citizens, particularly about the living standards. Party members are expressing this through passing declarations and resolutions.

For example, the party aktiv of the Wroclaw Voivodship, in an adopted resolution, stated: We all know how many difficulties we have to overcome in order to put the economy on the track of healthy functioning and development. However, this causes the disorganization of the market and a deterioration in the atmosphere. Strikes are thought of as a normal instrument to force pay increases. This is beginning to have an effect on the country's economic situation; it is beginning to (?damage) the social mood. We are observing with increasing anxiety the exploitation of this condition for purposes of the political game. For all these reasons, stated the authors of the resolution from Wroclaw, we are decidedly opposed to the concepts of the formation of a government proposed by the opposition and the methods by which they are being forced through.

A similar position on the current sociopolitical situation in Poland was taken at a joint meeting by the executive of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Voivodship committee and the Walbrzych Voivodship presidium [name indistinct]. The resolution states: We believe it is imperative to remind all sides participating in the round-table deliberations the principles upon which the agreement was made on behalf of society. Their adherence is the only way to maintain the credibility of the changes taking place in Poland. We turn to the Central Committee to take actions to defend socialist social values and to consistently initiate the commenced reforms.

Party activists of the (?Skierniewice) area expressed deep and grave anxiety over the dramatic development of the political and economic situation in Poland. In an adopted statement, they emphasized that everyone who consciously or unconsciously undermines the principles of the agreement of the roundtable through [word indistinct] Sejm decisions, violates the legal order and, by this, aims at anarchy and harms the interests of the nation.

The PZPR political aktiv of the workers' district of Poznan Nowe Miasto stated that a manifestation of the political instability is the ever more frequent strikes with a political basis, with an escalation of pay demands, strengthened by the destructive policies of the opposition, marked by the desire for the speedy assumption of power.

Workers Call Off Protest Actions

LD1808152389 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The Interfactory Strike Committee of the road-building employees in the Zielona Gora region, with its headquarters in Nowa Sol, has conveyed a communique to us.

In connection with the readiness of the government side for talks with representatives of the National Strike Committee, active protest action is being suspended from today. Let us remind you that in the Zielona Gora Voivodship, this involved a 2-hour blockage of the Sulechow bypass yesterday. The talks in Warsaw are to begin tomorrow.

Further Strikes Suspended

LD1808205589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] In certain regions of the country hour-long protest strikes have been called off. This happened in Krakow and also in Bielsko-Biala and Tarnow Voivodships. The strikes were suspended because, as it has been termed, political causes disappeared after it was declared that a government would be created on a new basis. But this was not the case everywhere.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified reporter] Today in Wroclaw there was a 1-hour warning strike at the initiative of the Regional Executive Commission of Solidarity. Between 1200 and 1300 municipal transport stopped and institutions and factories broke from work. Political postulates were dominant and supported the initiative to create a coalition government. But Wroclaw today was living and breathing another strike. The drivers of the Domestic Trade Transport Enterprise stopped work in the morning. They are demanding the doubling of wages and are declaring an indefinite strike. The area of the Spolem bakery looked like this: Emergency bread sale points have been opened up. People's anger rebounded off our TV team, which was on the one side roughed up because of Solidarity and on the other because of the party. In Wroclaw today people were not complaining about the quality of the bread. Anyone who had any kind of bread was satisfied.

[Second unidentified reporter] There has been a strike alert at the enterprises of Piotrkow Voivodship since 16 August. Today a warning strike took place between 1200 and 1300. Organizations providing services for the populace did not stop work. At the (?Pioma) mining machinery plant in Piotrkow the work force gathered at a rally. A similar rally took place at the (?Hara) window glass foundry in Piotrkow.

[Unidentified speaker] "Like the National Executive Commission we are also demanding a 100-percent compensation for the effects of the increase in food prices.

[First reporter] Which departments were closed down today?

[Unidentified speaker] The maintenance departments, those that can stop work for an hour. Glass is being produced normally, production is continuing normally.

[Second reporter] After 8 days the printers' strike in Gdansk has ended. An accord was signed this evening on wage increases and right after that, work commenced in the composition rooms. This morning the GLOS WYBRZEZA and DZIENNIK BALTYCKI newspapers were already in the kiosks. [end recording]

Jaruzelski Receives Farm Union Official

LD1908120289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski this morning received Janusz Maksymiuk, chairman of the main council of the national union of farmers, agricultural circles and organizations.

The subject of the talk was the problems of the countryside and of the food economy and matter regarding the formation of the new government.

Warsaw Radio Rounds Up Situation

LD1908112289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Summary] Strikes are still bedeviling our economy: Here are our correspondents' reports.

The miners of the Marcel colliery in Wodzislaw Slaski and of Morcinek in Kaczyce are still on strike. The arrival of Senator Leszek Piotrkowski, announced yesterday during the Senate debate, is awaited with great hope. The strikers' pay demands are unchanged: Z300,000 for underground workers and Z200,000 for above ground workers for Monday to Friday.

A strike began today at the power plant in Tarnowskie Gory. Workers at the Przyjazn coking plant in Dabrowa Gornicza are also on strike.

After 2300 yesterday, the management of the Katowice steelworks presented their pay proposals to the striking workforce, but they were rejected.

A warning strike in Lublin yesterday morning to 0900 by the Internal Trade Transport Enterprise caused a total lack of bread and dairy produce. This was not made up by afternoon deliveries. The workforce is demanding a Z100,000 pay raise, apart from index linking and (?bonuses). Lublin ambulance workers are also on strike over pay. During the strike, ambulances will go out only in grave emergencies. The strikers are trying to minimize the effect of their strike on the public.

Power and heating plant workers in Bialystok are on strike. Normal deliveries have been resumed today to Bialystok shops as a result of the ending of the strike of the Internal Trade Transport Enterprise workers. Road workers have also ended their strike.

The health service in Grudziadz has announced a protest action to last until 10 September, but no action detrimental to the health of patients has been taken. Their demands include higher pay: They are asking for 97 percent of the average national wage. Grudziadz doctors expect the future government to undertake a real reform of the health service.

Piotrowski Says Situation Worsens

LD1908200489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Zdzislaw Maklew reports from Katowice:

[Maklew] Miners at the Marcel mine in Wodzislaw Slaski and the Morcinek mine in Kaczyce are still on strike. The wage demands of the striking workers have not changed. The basic condition for going back to work continues to be the fulfillment by management of the postulates in which the workers demanded 300,000 zlotys for underground workers and 200,000 zlotys for

surface workers for Monday to Friday work. Here is a statement by Senator Leszek Piotrowski that we got after his first meeting with the strikers today.

[Begin Piotrowski recording] I am now in Wodzislaw where an inter-enterprise strike committee [MKS] has been established. It so happens that since yesterday there has been a change for the worse, unfortunately. Two more mines have joined the two on strike, that is [words indistinct], and they have just established an MKS, with its headquarters on the Marcel hard coal mine grounds, where I am at the moment. And I must say that the situation seems much more serious than it seemed yesterday from Warsaw. The miners' demands are decisive. These are wage demands. Not evaluating this demand in terms of its justness or not, the opponent of the strike—if I put it thus—that is the employer, says that there simply is no money for such a payment. He says this, falling back on the Sejm debates, on yesterday's Senate debate. He speaks about the difficulties that he has with the bank, about the decisionmaking difficulties that exist at this time of breakthrough, when the government formally exists but does not function; the situation is a hopeless one, indeed altogether tragic, and the strike continues. [end recording]

[Maklew] Workers at the Przyjazn coking works are also on strike in Dabrowa Gornicza. The management of the Katowice metallurgical works and enterprise presented their pay proposals to the strikers. Unfortunately, as of this moment, the workers have not accepted these proposals.

Road Builders Ask for Talks

LD2008193689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] The National Road-Building Workers Strike Committee has sent an open letter to President Wojciech Jaruzelski in which it refers to the currently futile talks with the government side on the subject of demands put forward by the road-building workers. The determined road maintenance men have already brought about a limited brief blockade of a dozen or so roads around the country. They write that an impasse in the talks with the government side could lead to further (?strong) protest actions which they would like to avoid. Consequently they ask the president to persuade competent persons to continue well-directed talks.

Strikes Continue in Katowice

LD2008213489 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 20—Strikes continued at mines "Marceli," "Morcinek" and "Grodziec" in the Katowice Province today.

A sit-in over pay continued at the Marceli mine for the fifth day. An agreement has already been prepared for negotiations with the strike committee, a mine's vice-director reported.

Also, a strike continued at a coking plant at the Katowice steelworks and at a power industry enterprise in Tarnowskie Gory. The strikers at the latter enterprise demanded a rise of basic monthly pay by 100 percent.

Mining Chief on Pay Proposal

LD2008201189 Warsaw PAP in English 1821 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Katowice, Aug 20—Director General of the Coal Community Jan Szlachta told PAP:

"At the current supply prices of coal extraction and its official selling prices subsidies from the state budget for coal mining industry should total 2.9 to 3 trillion zloties a year. In order to fully meet coal miners' pay claims the sum would have to be increased by some 600-700 billion zloties.

"About 4 p.m on Saturday I received from Senator Leszek Piotrowski a proposal to sign a several-point agreement which would sanction the pay claims. I thought it necessary to hold talks with miners. I went there with director of the coal exploitation enterprise "Poludnie" Andrzej Kaplanek. The goal of talks we wanted to hold was to present the current situation of the mining industry in the context of the overall situation in Poland.

"The talks however did not come off as by 11.30 p.m. there were no representatives of the strike committee from the Morcinek, Grodziec and Jowisz mines and representatives of the Marcel mine, despite repeated invitations, stated that talks may be possible only on Monday.

"Senator Piotrowski's proposal of an agreement (earlier provisionally settled with the strike committee) would amount to nothing less than acceptance of all pay claims. But I wonder how Senator Piotrowski wants to reconcile miners' pay claims with the level of subsidies which arouse so many controversies in the Sejm and Senate discussions and in the law presently amended," Jan Szlachta stated.

Shortages, Shopping Difficulties

LD1808231489

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1730 GMT on 18 August broadcasts a report which rounds up the shopping and supply situation around the country. The report states: "Before the coming weekend, shopping difficulties are cropping up again. for instance, in Wroclaw, as we have already informed you, there was no bread in the shops because of the transport workers' strike. There is a similar situation in Szczecin and Warsaw." The report goes on to state that there is said to be plenty of sugar, flour, and cereal in Katowice, but no packaging. In Krakow and elsewhere, there is a shortage of cigarettes; only expensive, imported cigarettes are

slowly appearing in hotel kiosks. This is said to be due to the labor shortage and holidays and sick leave in Krakow, Radom, and other tobacco plants.

Senate Holds Meeting, Proposes Draft Budget
LD1808210889

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1300 GMT on 18 August broadcasts a live link-up with correspondent at the Polish Senate's fifth meeting held in Warsaw. A correspondent outlines the agenda of the Senate meeting which includes the Senate's position on the draft law on some conditions of the state budget management in August and September and on amending the budget law for the year.

Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski opens the Senate meeting and announces Krzystof Pawlowski and Stanislaw Obertaniec as secretaries of the meeting. The Senate speaker explains that because of the Sejm's rejections of the draft amendments to the budget law, there is an urgent need for the Senate to draw up a draft provisional budget to facilitate the immediate and continual financial functioning of the state and its expenditures. Stelmachowski apologizes for the hurry and short notice for this debate. The Senate accepts the agenda for the meeting.

Deputy Finance Minister Slawomir Marczuk speaks for 5 minutes on corrections to the provisional draft. He apologizes for the delay in issuing the documents.

Witold Trzeciakowski, chairman of the Senate Economic Commission, proposed the draft resolution on the provisional budget. He says: "Knowing that we cannot submit a painless solution, we propose the following text of the resolution:

"Resolution of the Senate of the Polish People's Republic of 18 August 1989 on the Senate's stance regarding the draft law on some conditions of the state budget management in August and September 1989 and on the draft amendments to the budget law for 1989:

"The Senate, after examining the draft law on some conditions of the state budget management in August and September and recognizing the budget law for 1989, takes the following position:

"First, in article one, paragraph one of the bill, it is envisaged to introduce from 1 August to 30 September 1989 the decisions contained in the bill on a change in the budget law for 1989 and on a change in some of the draft which were negatively assessed by the Senate and rejected by the Sejm. The Senate regards the proposed bill as provisional despite very far-reaching reservations and feels compelled to accept this bill so that the essential budgetary needs can be met through 30 September 1989.

"Second, article two of the bill envisages the introduction of the institution of the order to draw [polecenie pobrania], which should not in the Senate's opinion undermine the fundamental provisions of civil-legal turnover. For that reason, the exlusion of the debtor's agreement to administration of the bank account should be restricted to cases without a civil-legal character or which concern the traditional monopolies: spirits and tobacco.

"The Senate proposes that the principle be introduced to the proposed regulation in article 16 of the draft budget law for 1989 that the bank debit the debtor's account without his agreement, in cases envisaged in the point up to now: the first, second, third—but with the exception here of payments for petroleum-derived products—and point five of the regulation under discussion. In the remaining cases, the debtor's agreement should be obtained, which may include agreement expressed in advance regarding planned deliveries.

"The legal provision regarding the order to draw should be harmonized with the content of article 14, paragraph 1 of the 31 January 1989 act of the banking law.

"Third, the Senate expresses the conviction that the new government will be capable by 30 September 1989 of submitting new proposals for a change in the draft budget law, reflecting the trends toward fundamental reform of the financial system aimed at restoring a balanced budget and restricting inflation."

Senate Dietl speaks for 14 minutes. He says that he will abstain from voting on the draft provisional budget. He expresses doubts about the lack of a detailed list of expenditures since February, as well as the lack of complete information on coal subsidies. He says that there is no complete list of investments; he thinks there could be big saving here. Dietl; criticizes budget reserves for various reasons. He says only precise expenditures can be approved in the provisional draft budget and that other expenditures should be suspended until the new government presents a budget.

Senator Wielowieyski encourages the adoption of the draft provisional budget so that wheels will continue to turn through 30 September. He proposed, however, that the proportion of social expenditures to military and internal affairs expenditures be verified and examined. Wielowieyski goes on to propose an addendum to the draft resolution: "Article three [as heard] begins thus:

"The proposed draft resolution is regarded by the Senate as provisional. Despite very far-reaching reservations, it feels compelled to accept this bill so that the essential budgetary needs can be met through 30 September.

"At this point, I propose the addition of the following: It moves, however, that there should be detailed examination by the Sejm of the suitability of the proportions of budget expenditures, particularly on science, education

and training, higher education, culture and art, health protection, and other social expenditures and also national defense, legal administration, the prosecutor's office, and public security expenditures."

Wielowieyski proposes approval for the draft and thanks the Senate.

Senator Witold Trzeciakowski speaks again. He says that the Senate is convinced that the new government will be able to submit new proposals by the end of September.

Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski then opens the floor for debate.

Senator Tadeusz Zielinski states that the Senate has not had enough time to study the relevant amendments and documents. He also comments on the poor quality of the documents. He says that the lesser of two evils must be accepted, though, and that laws which have been introduced for the good of the people cannot suddenly be rescinded for financial reasons. Senator Wlodzimierz Bojarski takes the floor. He says that there are not justifications for the calculations contained in the draft's appendix. He calls the draft conservative and points out that it does not display an improvement in the spending structure. Bojarski calls the coal subsidies irrational and says that maintaining subsidies for meat production would be another problem. Senators Andrzej Kalicinski and Zdzislaw Nowicki also comment in the debate. Minister Marczuk then explains details of the expenditures set out in the draft.

The speaker then calls on Senator Rozmarynowicz. Senator Rozmarynowicz comments on the Internal Affairs Ministry's budget. The speaker then announces that the debate has ended. He then announces corrections to the draft resolution. He calls for a vote on both the draft resolution and the proposed addendum by Senator Wielowieyski. There are 35 votes for, 10 against, and 22 abstentions. The speaker then says that the resolution was passed "and by a large majority too."

Following the vote on the draft resolution, a senator urges calling an independent economic institution to help deal with the economy. The senator then condemns the desecration of Soviet graves in Sopot. The Senate speaker responds to this issue and says that a draft on this issue will be prepared.

Senator Leszek Piotrowski from Katowice then makes a personal appeal: "I appeal to the miners, to the miners of the Marcel hard coal mine in Wodzislaw Slaski and to the miners of the Morcinek hard coal mine in Kaczyce. I appeal to you miners to stop your strikes immediately. There must be no strikes when Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, is beginning to rule this country. [sentence as heard] Go back to work at once; go down below on the next shift, and I will come straight to you from this chamber and will hold talks, together with you and with management."

Senator Wielowieyski presents a motion from Senator Stefan Bembinski on settling the wrongs meted out to former Home Army soldiers following WWII.

The Senate speaker then notes that there are no more open issues and calls on Senator Chrzanowski to speak. The speaker also asks that a motion be passed for full control of the state budget and for its uniformization. One senator agrees that greater control over the budget is necessary so that the Senate knows exactly how the budget is broken down. Senator Piotrowski proposes that the resolution on the budget's constitution be voted on, but that it should be dealt with by specialized bodies, because the Senate is not competent to deal with this.

Senator Chrzanowski suggests that the presidium turn to the economic commission for setting out principles on forming the state budget for 1990.

The speaker then presents the text of a resolution on the desecration of Soviet war graves. He also expresses regret regarding this matter. An unidentified senator questions the need for the Senate's declaration on this matter, because Cardinal Glemp has already intervened in this affair. The senator believes that the matter should be left to rest. The speaker says that he feels there is a consensus on feelings of sadness and regret regarding this matter, but that a formal resolution would not hurt. Senator Romaszewski says that such a resolution is necessary, because that kind of behavior undermines the dignity of the Polish nation. The speaker asks the Senate if it wants to authorize the presidium to formulate a position. There is applause and the speaker says he understands that the Senate does indeed give its authorization.

The Senate speaker then says that if the Sejm passes the draft budget, then it will be necessary to convene the Senate again if there are any reservations. Senator Bojarski expresses his lack of support for an extraordinary meeting on an unverified, uncorrected budget. He suggests that the Senate not reconvene on the matter for the next 2 months. An unidentified senator says that it would be a bad precedent for the presidium to be left exclusively to make the decisions and that the Senate should make these decisions itself. The speaker says that a meeting will be held after the resolution has been passed by the Sejm.

At 1521 GMT, the Senate speaker says that the agenda of the Senate's fifth meeting is exhausted and the meeting is over.

Sejm Condemns 'Intervention' in Czechoslovakia

AU2108095889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 89 p 4

[Statement adopted by the Sejm at its 17 August session in Warsaw]

[Text] On the 21st anniversary of the intervention by the forces of the Warsaw Pact in the CSSR, the Polish Sejm conveys fraternal greetings and expressions of respect to

the Czech and Slovak peoples. In connection with the approaching 21st anniversary of the intervention by the Warsaw Pact forces in the CSSR with the participation of the Polish Army, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic considers it its duty to say the following: This intervention was a violation of every nation's inalienable right to self-determination and to a natural striving toward democracy, freedom, and a respect for human rights. The entry of armed forces into Czechoslovakia took place without the consent of Polish society. The Sejm considers it correct to express sorrow and regret, and at the same time condemns the armed intervention in 1968, which set back the process of democratization in Czechoslovakia. Poland's participation in these events is all the more painful because we have always attached and will always attach great hopes to close cooperation with our southern neighbor in every sphere, and also to ordinary human friendship between the Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles. We wish the forces of democratic renewal in Czechoslovakia success in work for the benefit of the fatherland, and we wish its peoples freedom and sovereignty within the framework of a fully democratic state.

PAP Cites Czechoslovak Statement

LD1808172989 Warsaw PAP in English 1504 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug 18—The Czechoslovak CTK press agency reports that the Presidia of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly issued a statement reading in part:

According to information published in some Polish mass media, the Senate and in its wake the Sejm of Poland have these days issued a statement in which they express an incompetent opinion on the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and distort their importance for the further development of Czechoslovakia.

The Presidia of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia at their meeting today expressed surprise at this statement which in its contents constitutes a brutal intervention in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia and rejected them categorically.

Rally Marks Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact Anniversary

LD2008191689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] At noon today in the Castle Square in Warsaw, there was a rally which was organized by the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, 23 August. Among others, representatives of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party and the Latvian Popular Front spoke at the rally. They declared that the effects of the pact were felt both by Poland and the Baltic peoples right up to today. After the speeches, the rally participants formed into a column and marched to the gates of Warsaw University, where the organizers thanked the participants for taking part in the rally. The demonstration was peaceful.

Israeli Religious Affairs Minister Arrives

LD2008190189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] At the invitation of Minister Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, Zvulun Hammer, Israel's religious affairs minister, arrived in Warsaw on a return visit. This is the first official visit by a member of the Israeli Government to our country for more than 20 years. Talks on the preservation, renovation, and accessibility of historical monuments of the Jewish religion in Poland will be continued.

Committee Favors Moratorium on Death Penalty

LD1808214189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The Socio-Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, chaired by Aleksander Kwasniewski, continued its work on the assumptions of the penal code reform. It expressed approval for liberalization of this code and the humanization of exacting the punishment of imprisonment. On the issue of lifting the death penalty, which was demanded by the Solidarity-Opposition side in the round table debate, the committee expressed itself in favor of introducing a 5-year moratorium on applying this penalty. The principle of regarding the penalty of imprisonment as a last resort was also adopted.

Results of Autopsy of Father Zych Revealed

LD1908185989 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Elblag, Aug 19—Regional prosecutor in Elblag informs about further results of the investigation into the death of Father Sylwester Zych. The prosecutor's office has received an expert opinion from the forensic institute in Gdansk.

Forensic experts state that the death was caused by poisoning with ethyl alcohol which is testified to by high concentration of ethanol in the blood and urine, and by the observed histopathological changes. Ethanol was also found in tissue samples taken for analysis.

Results of two post mortem dissections, corroborated by microscopic samples from various organs of the body did not reveal pathological changes that could have caused the death of Father Sylwester Zych. In particular, toxicological analysis of blood and urine samples as well as internal organs did not show the presence of medicines and organic poisons, including psychotropic drugs.

The experts also opined on the causes and mechanisms of other injuries found on the body. Most of them were made during re-animation; others are typical of an intoxicated person with balance disorder. These injuries had no effect on the death of Father Zych.

Local Radio Stations View New Polish Government

Tasks of Solidarity Government

LD1908165589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It appears that Poland will be the first socialist country with a civilian opposition government. A plenum of the hitherto main political force, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], is to voice its stand on this today. Here is Zrnka Novak:

[Novak] The popular Lech Walesa, leader of the trade union Solidarity, has played the leading role in the dismantling of a political [word indistinct] in the scenario of which the PZPR, which lost in the elections for Sejm deputies but opened up a historical chapter on the division of power, is to continue as an essential intellectual and executive framework of the Polish state in the era of political pluralism. Now it is clear to everyone that any representative of the PZPR who receives the role of mandator of a new government has no chance of realizing the essential majority in parliament. Many then thought that the future Polish premier would be Lech Walesa, but he quickly reassured the curious that after a series of consultations with his partner parties—the Popular, Peasant, and Democratic—with the leaders of parliamentary circles, and of course, with the blessing of the republican President, Wojciech Jaruzelski, this duty would fall to another personality in the Solidarity trade union leadership, most likely Tadeusz Mazowiecki, hitherto editor of the trade union weekly.

In its painstaking progress toward democracy, Poland is thus now on the way to resolving the government crisis. In that government, the PZPR will hold only two portfolios, those of defense and internal affairs, which, with the figure of the president of the republic, guarantees the continuity of Polish state commitments within the military community of the Warsaw Pact. The soonest possible formation of a government is also essential for Poland to be able to begin to receive, or hold further negotiations on, the various forms of assistance which, in this period of democratic transition, it will receive from the world of the developed countries.

The democratic change in Warsaw, which probably will be formally carried out in the coming 2 weeks, is an important historical turning point. As with many other things that have happened in Poland in recent decades, the Poles, and particularly what was until yesterday the monopolistic political force, the PZPR, will need time to appreciate fully what has happened. At the same time, this speeded up and somewhat improvized path to democracy commits all partners in the Polish political dialogue to create in the shortest possible time a completely new, constitutive, legal basis for the rule of democracy in Poland, otherwise it will not be able to function, even with the best intentions and ideas.

The Poles, like the other peoples of Eastern Europe, must realize that the basic prerequisite for the realization of human rights is a legal, that is, law-governed state, not that the economy within it functions only on the basis of market criteria and its (?risks). For all these reasons, which fundamentally alter the attitude of every Pole towards his state, insofar as the attitude of civilian loyalty, the first coalition government of the Solidarity trade union will be burdened with many unusual problems if we compare it with governments in traditional parliamentary democracies. Of course, this new educational role in explaining the new qualities of the relationship between the state and society can be carried out in Poland by the Catholic Church.

Mazowiecki's Chances Viewed

AU2008192889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Branislav Canak commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] A prominent Solidarity activist and one of the closest associates of Lech Walesa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was asked to form a new government. This move by President Wojciech Jaruzelski represents a new chapter in the search for a way out of the long-lasting crisis. Here is a commentary by Branislav Canak: Choosing Mazowiecki as candidate for the premier immediately poses the question of whether this is a reflection of the unavoidable reality of the balance of power in the Polish political scene, or whether this choice has been imposed by the exhausted list of combinations itself. The most probable thing is that both factors were at play. This is encouraging, however, because under the same circumstances some politicians in some not so distant times would have resorted to a sword to cut the Gordian knot. Therefore, regardless of how dark the horizon of Poland's everyday life may be, there is still some scope for optimism and a dialogue within the framework of the policy of national reconciliation.

Mazowiecki's candidacy represents a clear victory for Lech Walesa, because it reflects the realization of Solidarity's aim, set a long time ago, to form a government headed by its representative.

Although one is talking about a government without the communists, it is clear that there are no conditions for such a radical concept. It is quite certain that Mazowiecki will offer some departments to the Polish United Workers Party, most probably the defense and internal affairs departments.

As we have already said, one of Solidarity's aims set a long time ago has been achieved. However, in this connection one can ask whether Solidarity has been handicapped by the fact that this aim is being realized precisely at this moment. Therefore, in addition to

containing an exceptional feeling for the specific within the constraints of the real, Jaruzelski's move contains at least some elements of the story about the hot potato.

In a situation in which the population is poorly supplied, in which there are large price increases, and in which both household and state budgets are very thin, and which, as a result of all this, there is the increasing discontent of the people, that the government, regardless of who is heading it, will be more of a bad fireman than a good manager.

Considering the fact that Solidarity' authority has been significantly eroded with relation to previous years, the question is to what extent could the government, even if it consisted entirely of Solidarity members, count on the citizens' patience, unless something significantly changes in the meantime. This primarily refers to the situation in the economy which is on the verge of collapse, totally impoverished, with completely (?dried up) capital.

Although the current political trends, which were (?determined) by the outcome of the roundtable talks, have been positively received in the West and by the creditors of some $40 billion of Poland's debt, their readiness to express this mood in terms of moneys is not proportionate to their positive inclination.

It is certain that as a potential premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be particularly warmly welcomed, but it is not very likely that this will significantly increase the $10 billion aid promised to Poland so far.

Perhaps the most notable thing in this act of nominating a prominent Solidarity member as candidate for the premier lies in the fact that it will become crystal clear to everybody in Poland and outside it that there are no magic wands and that the fate of the country has been and will remain in the hands of its people. Solidarity will not be able to pull Poland out of the crisis alone, just as the Polish United Workers Party was unable to do it in recent years, as long as others are standing by the side. It will be even less capable of doing it if others treat its mistakes as their own political capital.

In the context of these events, the Polish United Workers Party held a plenum yesterday at which it discussed the party's position in the latest divisions of roles. What is noticeable is the ideological schism in the assessments as to what should be done, in view of the very narrow space for operating and in a historically completely new role which no other party in socialist countries has experienced.

There were even some proposals to resolve the situation in favor of the party by using the methods which are completely unsuitable to the circumstances, the methods that belong to the well-known arsenal for conducting the so-called class struggles. However, judging by the statement issued by Slawomir (?Jatr) last night, secretary of the Polish United Workers Party's Commission for Ideology, the view which prevailed was that the coalition role should be accepted, but not under any conditions. It was also demanded that some other departments should be given to the Polish United Workers Party in addition to those that have already been offered, defense and internal affairs.

This is in a way an indication of the stormy days of consultations which could result in Mazowiecki, like Kiszczak, failing to form a generally acceptable government.

'Powder' From Romanian Water Factory Examined

AU2008181989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] The news about poisoned vegetables on hundreds of small plots of land by the banks of the river Danube was once again today in the center of attention in Kladovo and the surrounding area, as well as in the whole of eastern Serbia. Farmers in Mala Vrbica and Velika Vrbica were the first to spot a dark powder on vegetables which, as believed, is the real cause for dying crops.

It is suspected that the unidentified powder comes from a heavy water plant in Romania. Although there is no official confirmation as yet, there are rumors that the experts of the Vinca Institute have measured radiation and examined the unidentified powder.

Report on Montenegrin Rally Against Poverty

LD2008163289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Niksic, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—Some 30,000 people gathered in this Montenegrin industrial town today to protest against poverty called on the country's leadership, and the government in particular, to ensure normal living conditions and social justice to all.

The gathering, called a "rally against hunger", was organised with the backing of Montenegro's young political leadership elected in January after large disturbances. The country's economic crisis and 800 percent inflation have caused severe impoverishment (?in) this already underdeveloped republic.

The participants in the rally sent a message to the republican and federal leaderships urging the federal government to urgently submit a special anti-inflation and social programme to Parliament.

The 11-point message [words indistinct] that the tax system and the housing policy must be changed, that young educated people who are worst hit by unemployment must be given work, and that the republic must be given federal aid.

A worker told the rally that hungry people will soon begin to take away from those who have too much of everything.

Montenegro's representative in the state Presidency, Ljubisa Stankovic, said that the future of the government should be linked to its developed countries governments are [words indistinct] to resign even over a few inflation percentage points.

He blamed the apalling economic and social situation in Montenegro on its former leaderships who had for decades taken "expensive foreign credits to make up for their ineptitude and to buy social peace and a semblance of affluence."

The rally was addressed by another young politician, Montenegrin party President Momir Bulatovic, who said that the present republican leadership would continue the processes launched after the mass demonstrations which toppled almost the entire Montenegrin state and party leadership at the end of last year.

Further on Niksic Rally

AU2008153889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Text] The participants in the big rally organized by the Montenegrin people in Niksic this morning—at which Ljubisa Stankovic, member of the Montenegro Presidency spoke—issued an appeal against inflation, hunger, and poverty. It was stressed that the federal government must link its fate to inflation. Here is a report by Jagos Stojanovic from Niksic:

Like last October and last January in Titograd, today, at the Marshall Tito Square in Niksic, several thousand people from all over Montenegro protested against galloping inflation and, as stated, the falling standard of living in this republic.

Speaking on behalf of the workers class of Montenegro, Aleksandar Roganovic, a worker from the Niksic Steel Mill, said that while we go hungry there are some 170,000 socially owned cars driven around the country. Montenegrin and Yugoslav bureaucracy, we declare a war on you, Roganovic said.

After several brief speeches, Milovan Gudovic and Branislav Kovacevic formulated the demands on behalf of the Montenegrin unemployed and pensioners. Dr Ljubisa Stankovic then addressed the rally.

[Begin Stankovic recording] Inflation is destroying the [word indistinct] impoverished Montenegrin economy which is referred to the (?money) market with huge interest rates. Because of the structure of its economy, Montenegro is faring badly in the daily price races. The Federal Executive Council, whether it likes it or not, must link its fate to inflation. If the governments in developed countries are falling because of inflation rates of just a few percent, our government should know that the increase of several hundred percent during its short term of office is seriously questioning the quality of its work. [end Stankovic recording]

The participants in the rally sent a message to the state and political institutions in the republic and the country. Here is what Slavica Dakovic said:

[Begin Dakovic recording] The citizens and working people of Montenegro who have gathered here at this protest meeting in Niksic demand a life worthy of a human being and a state which will secure more bread and more social justice. Therefore, they demand that a stop be put to the falling standard of living, (?rise in) prices, and they want a general Yugoslav anti-inflationary program which would incorporate a unified social policy program. [end Dakovic recording]

At the general request, those present were addressed by Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, who briefly appealed to them to work, and expressed his thanks to the general support to the new Montenegrin leadership.

Kosovo Government Views Political Situation

AU1808185089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The Kosovo Assembly Executive Council today assessed that the special measures adopted by the SFRY Presidency made an important contribution to the efforts of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces in overcoming the consequences of the activity of hostile forces from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

A communique issued at the conclusion of the meeting of the Provincial Executive Committee stresses that the consistent commitment of the provincial organs and other social subjects in implementing the decisions of the SFRY Presidency resulted in the prevention of a further exacerbation of the political and general situation throughout the Province of Kosovo, and assured the normal functioning of the social and political institutions.

The Kosovo Executive Council supported the bill for the general popular defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which stipulates its full implementation throughout the territory of the republic, and presented its own views on the subject to the Executive Council of the Republic of Serbia.

FRG Writers Told Kosovo Writers Not Detained

AU1808163189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The Office of the President of the SFRY Presidency has sent a reply to the German Writers' Association. This is in reply to the letter that German writers from Stuttgart had sent to the president of the SFRY Presidency asking him to intercede on behalf of detained ethnic Albanian writers and to help in obtaining their release from prison.

Among other things, it is said in the reply that writers Redzep Cosja, Esad Mekuli, Ibrahim Kadriu, Zenun Celaj, Akim (?Dinsa), Liman Matosi, Ibrahim Rugova, Skeljzen Malici, and Redzep Ismailji are not in prison.

Novi Pazar Alliance Condemns Milosevic Insults

AU1808141389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 89 p 3

[Z. Juka report: "The People Support Changes"]

[Text] Novi Pazar, 16 Aug—The Presidium of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Novi Pazar has discussed a report on the damage done to the church at Reljina Gradina and occurrences belittling Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. In this connection, the Presidium issued a statement which says:

Individuals are trying to undermine our efforts with their excesses and provocative behavior which hurt both our region and the citizens who have nothing in common with these opinions and this behavior (the desecration of a cultural monument and the belittling of Comrade Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, by tearing up his poster and so on). On the other hand, such excesses are the occasion for various commentaries and insinuations in our community and further afield. These commentaries and assessments containing articles with improper titles describing the situation in our community ultimately tend to, or might tend to, disturb citizens and upset traditionally good relations in this community.

Precisely because of this, it should be known that we have been recipients of the award given by the OSLOBODJENJE Newspaper Publishing Work Organization for the best-kept cultural monuments. We initiated the founding of the republican committee for the protection and presentation of the ruins of Ras and the Sopocani monastery. Our economy contributes a lot of money to these and other efforts to protect cultural monuments. Despite our regret and condemnation at the damage to the church, the efforts that we are making are being publicly and maliciously portrayed, and an unobjective picture of our attitude to cultural monuments is being created.

Since 1 January, the public security service has recorded 26 characteristic cases of verbal and other denigration of the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Charges were filed against the culprits in 13 cases. In the other 13, the perpetrators were not charged. The number of such occurrences is on the increase compared to last and previous years, and they are most probably caused, to a certain extent, by the present difficult socioeconomic and political situation in the country.

The end of the statement stresses that apart from the recorded individual excesses and their perpetrators, the people of this region that has been fully affirmed in postwar Serbia and Yugoslavia give their full support to the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and they value the political system and the changes in it which can be carried out only with attitude of unity by the leadership and the people. The people give them their unreserved support.

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